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The works of the Most
Reverend Father in God,
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THE WORKS

OF

ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL.

THE

WORKS

OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN BRAMHALL, D.D.

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,
PRIMATE AND METROPOLITAN OF ALL IRELAND.

WITH

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

AND A COLLECTION OF HIS LETTERS.

VOL. V.

OXFORD:
JOHN HENRY PARKER.
MDCCCXLV.

OXFORD:
PRINTED BY I. SHRIMPTON.

PROPERTY OF
PRINCETON
THEOLOGICAL

PREFACE.

The present volume contains Part the Fourth (and last) of Archbishop Bramhall's Works, which with the Index completes the publication. The volume consists, partly, of several tracts upon various theological subjects, written at different periods, but published for the first time, after Bramhall's death, in the folio edition of his Works, and reprinted here from that edition; and partly also, of three sermons, being the whole of those published by Bramhall himself during his lifetime, reprinted also from the folio edition, as the original sermons in their separate form have not been met with. A considerable number of sermons, in addition to these three, were it appears prepared by Bramhall for publication, but were accidentally destroyed[a]. And some funeral sermons of his are also mentioned[b]. The criticism of Dean Comber however[c], who records the occasion and circumstances under which one of these was delivered, is so far borne out by the three sermons still existing and here published, that it is not pro-

[a] See the Life of Bramhall, above in vol. i., p. xxxiv.

[b] For Mr. Slingsby, Lord Strafford's secretary, who was slain in the civil wars, at Gisborough Jan. 15, 164$\frac{2}{3}$ (Whitelocke's Memor., p. 63). His body was carried to York, and buried in the Cathedral there, after a sermon by Bramhall, "who" (says Rushworth, vol. v. p. 774), "had a large experience of him." Also for Sir Christopher Wandesford (Dean Comber's Mem. of Wandesford, p. 140), whom he had attended at his death (id. ibid. p. 132). Another sermon, entitled "The Loyal Prophet," preached at St. Peter's in York (i. e. the Cathedral) on Monday July 13, 1668, at the Summer Assizes, by Will. Bramhall, Rector of Goldsbrough and one of his Majesty's Chaplains (4to. York 1668), is erroneously attributed to Archbishop Bramhall in the Preacher's Guide.

[c] Bramhall, says Comber (as just quoted, p. 140), "was not either by nature or study much of an orator." And compare what Vesey himself says of him in his Life, above in vol. i. p. xiv.; and the quotation from Thurloe's State Papers, given above in vol. iii. p. 23. note f.

bable the loss of the remainder has much diminished their author's reputation. The Sermon upon the Restoration (Discourse iii.) has been lately reprinted by Mr. Brogden[d]; and the Discourse to Sir Henry de Vic, of Persons dying without Baptism (Discourse v.), has also found a place in another series of republications[e]. Of both of these, of the other two Sermons (Discourses ii.[f], iv.), of the Answer to Captain Steward's Papers (Discourse vi.), and of the Reply to S. N.'s Guide of Faith (Discourse vii.), such account as is needed, may be found in the notes to the several Discourses and in vol. i. pp. xxxiii., xxxiv. Some account may be found also in the last-named place of the first Discourse in the volume, upon the Sabbath and Lord's Day. This, there is no doubt, was written about 1658 or 9 in Holland, although not published until 1677, after the author's death, in the folio edition of his Works[g]. It is not so plain however to whom it was addressed. The case stands thus. It appears from the tract itself[h], that a friend (unnamed) had requested Bramhall's opinion on the subject of it, some time apparently in 1658, in general terms; and that Bramhall had accordingly complied with his request by a "discourse" upon the question,

[d] Illustrations of the Liturgy and Ritual of the United Church of England and Ireland, vol. iii. pp. 471-502. 8vo. Lond. 1842. The Speeches at the end of the Sermon are omitted, and the Sermon itself not very carefully or accurately reprinted.

[e] Tracts of Anglican Fathers, vol. II. Pt. viii. pp. 153-159. Lond. 8vo. 1841, where it is reprinted from the folio edition very carefully and accurately, with the exception of a (seemingly intentional) alteration, obviously incorrect, in p. 174. l. 27. of this edition, the line being there read thus, "there may *not* be the same invincible necessity" &c.

[f] The prayer from the Scotch Liturgy (so to call it), prefixed to the Sermon before the Marquis of Newcastle (below pp. 89, 90), appears to have struck Bramhall; as he refers to it again five years later in his Fair Warning, c. xiii. (vol. iii. p. 283, Disc. i. Pt. ii). It is curious, that the very same prayer (for this Liturgy or rather Directory was in use and frequently reprinted as late as at least 1635), is quoted by the Covenanters themselves in the very same year (164¾),—in which the Sermon was preached, in the "Declaration of Reasons for assisting the Parliament of England against the Papists and Prelatical Army, by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland" (Rushw., vol. vi. p. 472); where the aid given to the Scots against the French (as mentioned below p. 89. note a), and subsequently against "the general Popish faction" (in 1573, in the capture of Edinburgh Castle by English troops when held for the Queen by Kirkaldy of Grange), are assigned by them as reasons (not for supporting the king but) for assisting the English rebels.

[g] See above in vol. i. p. xxxiii. notes f, g; and below p. 74. note n.

[h] Below pp. 9-11, 74.

addressed to no particular controversy upon it, but treating generally upon the immutability of the ordinance of the Lord's Day, and upon the authority on which the change rests from the seventh day to the first. A fragment of a letter still exists, and has been printed above in vol. i. of this edition (pp. xcviii-ci. as Letter XI. of the series), which, as regards the place whence it was written, and in its contents, agrees exactly with the "discourse" thus described; and this fragment, which was copied and preserved by Bp. Barlow, is endorsed by him as addressed to Dr. (Nicholas) Bernard, sometime Dean of Ardagh and Chaplain to Archbishop Ussher, a person certainly upon terms of friendship with Bramhall[i]. If this letter be identical with the discourse, and if Bp. Barlow's endorsement be correct, it follows, that the tract (which was addressed to the same friend[j] who had elicited the preliminary "discourse") was likewise addressed to Dr. Bernard. It appears however further, from other passages in the tract, that subsequently to writing this "discourse," Bramhall accidentally met with a book written by the friend to whom he had addressed it, and with another by Dr. Heylin, either in answer to this book or to which it was an answer, and which last he describes as "in part upon the subject" of the Sabbath question[k]; that he was induced upon this to write a formal treatise upon the point (viz. the tract itself), in order to moderate between the two[l]: and that subsequently still, after his treatise was nearly completed, he received from England two books then just published by Dean Bernard[m], containing certain papers of Archbishop Ussher's (at that time recently dead), and two among the rest upon the Sabbath question, and the abrogation of the Irish Articles; of the existence of which, and of the controversy between Bernard and Heylin, which had arisen from

[i] See below p. 74.
[j] Below p. 11.
[k] Below p. 11.
[l] Ibid.
[m] Below pp. 74, 81. notes n. p.

them (or at least of Abp. Ussher's share in it), and which had in fact prompted the question originally put to him by his friend, he had been up to that time entirely ignorant. If Bernard then was really that friend, it seems inexplicable, that he should be mentioned by Bramhall in the closing section of his tract in terms, which seem to imply that then (while finishing the work) the Bishop had for the first time become aware that he was at all concerned in the matter. And if the terms in which Bernard is mentioned be not thought necessarily to imply this (which however they appear to do), it remains still inexplicable, on the same supposition, how Bramhall should then for the first time have discovered Ussher's connection with the dispute (which he affirms in plain words); since there is no book of Bernard's upon the subject which is not made up almost entirely of Ussher's own writings, and with Ussher's name prominently placed in the title-page, and no work of Heylin's in answer to Bernard which is not expressly directed in point of fact against Ussher rather than against his Chaplain[n]. Nor can we suppose, what, if allowable, would remove this difficulty, that the first section of the tract (where the treatises of Heylin and his opponent are mentioned) was written, as well as the last section, subsequently to the remainder of the work, and that one of Bernard's books described in the latter is to be identified with the "treatise" of the friend alluded to in the former. For the words of the first section are inconsistent with such a supposition; not to mention, that Bernard's books were sent to Bramhall from England, while Heylin's tract and his adversary's

[n] Heylin's Reply to Bernard is entitled, "Respondet Petrus or the Answer of Peter Heylin D.D. to so much of Dr. Bernard's Book entituled the Judgment of the late Primate of Ireland &c. as he is made a Party to by the said Lord Primate in the Point of the Sabbath, And by the said Doctor in some others. To which is added an Appendix in Answer to certain passages in Mr. Sanderson's History of the Life and Reign of K. Charles, relating to the Lord Primate, the Articles of Ireland, and the Earl of Strafford, in which the Respondent is concerned." Lond. 4to. 1658.

were accidentally found by him in a friend's possession, so that the last-named could not be identical with either of the former; and, lastly, that Bernard's books could neither of them be rightly described as a 'treatise by him' upon the Sabbath question, inasmuch as the fragments which are contained in them upon the subject, are not his at all, but Archbishop Ussher's. On the other hand, the Letter above referred to tallies so well with the description given of the "discourse," that it is hard to suppose them distinct. It is still less likely, that Bp. Barlow, who probably took his copy of the Letter from the original, should have endorsed a wrong address upon it. And in addition to this, it does not appear, that there was ever any treatise of Heylin's which could be said to be "partly" upon the Sabbath question, except his reply to Bernard[o]. It appears on the whole, then, that Bramhall's tract was probably addressed to Dean Bernard, although the editor can offer no explanation of the difficulties above suggested, which lie in the way of the supposition.

Subjoined to this Preface, for want of a better place, will be found a Letter of Bramhall's printed by Whitaker in his History of Richmondshire, the existence of which was unfortunately not known to the editor until the first volume of the present edition was printed off[p]. It should have appeared

[o] The only other book of Heylin's upon the subject at all in his History of the Sabbath which is about nothing else: not to add, that it was published so long before as 1636.

[p] Some letters of Bramhall's upon the state of the Irish Church, addressed to Laud, besides that found among the State Papers and printed above in vol. i. pp. lxxix-lxxxii, are mentioned in the Strafford Letters, vol. i. pp. 212, 331; ii. p. 101: but are unfortunately not preserved. And a curious paper, which may serve to illustrate Bramhall's opinions respecting rites and ceremonies (see above in vol. iii. p. 170, and below pp. 123, 215), has been rescued from oblivion in a dissenting publication of the last century, though with no very friendly motives; entitled, "The Manner of Consecration of the Bishops in Dublin by the Lord Primate in the year 1660," appointing (Sunday) January 27. (166$\frac{0}{1}$) for the Consecration (see the Life of Bramhall in vol. i. p. xiii), and signed "Jo. Armachanus." It consists of a rather minute programme of the Procession, Service, Anthem, &c., to be used upon that occasion, sent by the Primate "to those concerned, to the end that all things might be done in order;" and is printed at length in p. 338. of vol. ii. of a book by one Richard Baron called The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy Shaken (8vo. Lond. 1768).

The opportunity may be here taken of clearing up two difficulties respecting dates, in Bramhall's Life, of no particular importance unless for the sake

as the first of the series then published, being earlier in date than any of them.

The following quotation, professedly taken from Archbishop Bramhall, which is found in a posthumous work attributed (although upon grounds far from conclusive) to Bp. Ken[q], is here added for the sake of its contents. Something to a similar purpose may be found in the Preface to the Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon (in vol. ii.) and elsewhere in other works of Bramhall, but the passage itself does not occur. Whence Ken (or the author of the tract) derived it, the editor is entirely ignorant.

"He was a wise and good and reverend son of my bosom who said, 'that in the greatest maturity of his judgment and integrity of his conscience, when most redeemed from juvenile errors, popular fallacies, vulgar partialities, and secular flatteries, he declared, to the present age, and posterity, that since he was capable to move in so serious a search and weighty a disquisition as that of religion is; as his greatest design was, through God's grace, to find out, and persevere in, such a profession of Christian religion, as hath most of truth and order, of power and peace, of holiness and solem-

of accuracy. In vol. i. p. xi. note a. the writer in the Biographia Britannica is shewn to be mistaken in the date he assigns for Bramhall's return to England upon the Restoration. It appears (from White Kennet's Register, p. 288), that he had misunderstood his own authority; the Public Intelligence which he quotes, of Oct. 23, 1660, containing the tidings of Bramhall's arrival in that month, not at London, but in Dublin. In the same volume, p. xvii. note D, a discrepancy is noticed between Bp. Vesey and Browne Willis respecting the date of Bramhall's appointment to his Prebend at York; the former supposing it to have preceded Abp. Matthews' death in 1628, the latter assigning it to June 13, 1633. Willis, who had access to the York Registers, and gives a precise date, would be more probably right than Vesey, who speaks only in vague terms and with less authentic information; and any doubt upon the subject is removed by a letter of Laud's to Strafford, then Viscount Wentworth, dated July 30, 1631, from which it appears that Bramhall was at that date intended for the Prebend but not yet appointed. (Straff. Letters, vol. i. p. 58).

[q] Bp. Ken (as is *supposed*), in a tract entitled, "Expostulatoria: or, The Complaints of the Church of England against I. Undue Ordination. II. Loose Prophaneness. III. Unconscionable Symony. IV. Encroaching Pluralities. V. Careless non-Residence, now reigning among Her Clergy. To which is added a List of the non-Residents," &c. &c. 8vo. Lond. 1711. pp. 8, 9 (publ. after Ken's death) —speaking in the person of the Church of England, and quoting from "*Archbishop Bramhall.*"

nity, of Divine verity, and Catholic antiquity, of true charity and holy constancy: so he could not (apart from all prejudices and prepossessions) find in any other Church or Church-way, antient or modern, either more of the good he desired, or less of the evil he would avoid, than he had a long time discerned, and, upon a strict scrutiny, more and more observed, in the frame and form, in the constitution and settled dispensation, of the Church of England.' 'No where,' says he, 'Diviner mysteries, no where sounder doctrines, holier morals, warmer devotions, apter rituals, or comelier ceremonies. All which together, by a meet and happy concurrence of piety and prudence, brought forth such spirituals and graces, both in their habits, exercises, and comforts, as are the quintessence and life, the soul and seal, of true religion; those more immediate and special influences of God's Holy Spirit upon the soul, those joint operations of the Blessed Trinity, for the Justification, Sanctification, and Salvation of a sinner.' "

A. W. H.

October, 1845.

LETTER[a].

Noble Sir,

Amongst so many and so importante occasions to have but once thought upon a poore country friend had bene sufficiente: but as it is I thanke you, and rest yet more obliged. Your goodness makes a burthen imposed to seeme a curtesy, and a favor done to be a benefitt received. Practise and emploiment to a lawyer is beneficial, and may deserve thankes, but to you p'judiciall, only it affordes you matter for some virtue to worke upon. Day and night do not more duly succeed one another, than our hopes and feares of your success have done. Nowe we seeme to sayle in the haven, having intelligence of his Majestie's most gracious answer[b]; yet even now, whilest I am writing this letter, I heare newes of some disgusts, to speak plainly, a dissolution[c]. But your known wisedomes will not suffer me to hold it a thing possible. We offer dayly for you the tribute of our prayers. And when we heare of an happy end of this long session[d], will then stile it *parliamentum beatum, beatus ante obitum nemo*. My good friend and neighbour Mr. Moody is come upp to solicite you about his old hospitall business. I know how propense you have allwayes bene to do him good, and how needless it is for me to interpose my suite. It goes hard, that they must judge of superstition who doe not know what is superstition; that a diamond should be forfeited because it hath a specke or flawe; that piety should grow to be a

[a] From Whitaker's History of Richmondshire, vol. ii. pp. 152, 153. It was "found among the papers at Kirtlington," Wandesford's house in Yorkshire, and was "written about the year 1628, when Bramhall was Sub-dean of Ripon, and when Wentworth and Wandesford were on the point of changing their political connexions" (Whitaker, ibid.) See also the Life of Bramhall, in vol. i. of the present edition, p. iv.

[b] Viz. the answers of Charles I. to the Petition of Right, June 2 and June 7, 1628.

[c] Parliament was not dissolved until March 10, $162\frac{8}{9}$; but messages from the King were brought June 2 and June 5, declaring his intention of ending the Session on June 10.

[d] The Session began March 17, $162\frac{7}{8}$.

supplanter of charity, and the warrant of a parlament be no security from the process of an ordinary courte[e]. But I forgett myself and crave pardon. God bless you, keep you. And for mine owne parte, I shall rest a dayly oratoure for your whole house in general, and to yourself in speciall.

A most observante and

obliged friend,

JOHN BRAMHALL.

Ripon, June 18.

To his right worthy Frind Christophere Wandesford, Esq. at his Chambers in Westminster, these.

[e] This refers of course to Mr. Moody; but it does not appear what the particulars of his business were, further than the letter itself hints at them.

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THE WORKS

OF

ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL.

PART THE FOURTH;

CONTAINING

THE DISCOURSES ON MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

DISCOURSE I.

THE CONTROVERSIES

ABOUT

THE SABBATH AND THE LORD'S DAY,

WITH

THEIR RESPECTIVE OBLIGATIONS;

CLEARLY, SUCCINCTLY, AND IMPARTIALLY,

STATED, DISCUSSED,

AND

DETERMINED.

BY JOHN BRAMHALL, D.D.,

BISHOP OF DERRY.

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PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL

DISCOURSE I.

THE CONTROVERSIES

ABOUT

THE SABBATH, AND THE LORD'S DAY:

[FIRST PRINTED AT DUBLIN, A.D. 1676, AMONG THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTED WORKS[a].]

SECTION THE FIRST.

The author's fears and doubts.

You desired my judgment of the true state of the question concerning the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, indefinitely, without intimating any particular question now agitated about them. Whereupon I suspected, that either Theophilus Brabourne's[b] recanted error, of the perpetual morality of the Jewish Sabbath and an absolute necessity that all Christians were obliged to observe it everlastingly, had been revived to trouble the Church; or that Anabaptism had spread its roots wider and deeper in England of late, which doth not allow so much as a relative holiness of one day, or one place, or one person, more than another[c]; or, at the least, that the

[a] [For an account of this tract, and of the person to whom it was probably addressed, see the Preface to the present volume.]

[b] [Theophilus Brabourne was "an obscure schoolmaster, or, as some say, a minister, of Suffolk" (Wood, Ath. Oxon. ii. 541. ed. Bliss), who in 1628 published a book supporting the doctrine mentioned above, entitled "A Discourse upon the Sabbath Day, viz." (among other points) "that It is Not Abolished, and that the Lord's Day is not the Sabbath by Divine Institution" (Lond. 4to.); which he followed in 1632 by a second, under the title of "A Defence of that most Ancient and Sacred Ordinance of God, the Sabbath Day" (Lond. 4to., reprinted 8vo. 1660, according to Watts); and in 1654 by a third in answer to a Mr. Collings. He was summoned before Abp. Laud in 1634 or 5, and compelled to conform. See Heylin's Life of Laud, Pt. II. pp. 257, 258; and Fuller's Ch. Hist., bk. XI. c. ii. § 32.]

[c] [See Fred. Spanheim's Historical Narration of the Original &c. of the Sect of the Anabaptists, c. iv. p. 34. as translated into English and published at London, 4to. 1646.]

PART IV.

opinion of some eminent divines had sprouted up higher than formerly it used to do in our coasts, who have asserted a power and liberty to the Catholic Church, or to any particular Church, to translate the public assemblies of the present Church from the Lord's Day to any other day in the week, and to make that to be their Lord's Day; yea, with such a latitude as not to bind the Church to the septenary number, which, if it thought fit, might set apart one day in eight or ten for the service of God[d]. And although none of these did ever actually change the day, nor any of them ever go about to change it, that I have read of, except one[e] (neither do I condemn him, but leave the credit of the story to the author), yet I feared, lest this bold licentious age, under the mistaken notion of Christian liberty, (like Africa) might produce some such new monster: and according to my suspicion I applied

[d] [Such a doctrine was held by many eminent doctors in the Roman schools; as, e. g. Tostatus, Suarez, and (though less broadly) Thomas Aquinas: for whom see Heylin, Hist. of Sabb., Pt. II. c. vi. § 1, 2. But Bramhall doubtless refers to the similar doctrine held by nearly all the Reformers upon the subject, e. g. by Calvin (see the next note), Zuingle, Bullinger, &c.; of whom also a list with proofs may be seen in Heylin, ibid. § 6. (and see also his Respondet Petrus, sect. ii. pp. 17—19. 4to. Lond. 1658); where their doctrine on the subject is summed up under three heads, "1. that the keeping holy one day of seven is not the moral part of the Fourth Commandment, or to be reckoned as a part of the law of nature; 2. that the Lord's Day is not founded on Divine commandment but onely on the authority of the Church;" and "3. that *the Church hath still authoritie to change the day and to transferre it to some other.*"—Tindal and Frith are the only two Englishmen quoted by Heylin, but the former is one of the most extreme of the party.—"As for the Saboth," he says, "a great matter, *we be Lords over the Saboth*, and may yet chaunge it *into the Monday* or any other day, as we see neede; or may make every *tenth day* holy daye onely, if we see a cause why: we may make *two every weeke*, if it were expedient, and one not enough to teach the people. Neither was there any cause to chaunge it from the Saterday then to put difference betwene us and the Jewes, and least we should become servauntes unto the day after their superstition: *neither needed we any holyday at all*, if the people myght be taught without it" (Tindal, Aunswere unto Maister More's first booke, c. xxv. Works, p. 287. Lond. 1573).]

[e] ["Apud quem" (scil. CALVIN) "agitatum diu ferunt de transferendâ solemnitate Dominicâ *in feriam quintam*" (scil. Thursday);—Joh. Barclay, Parænesis ad Sectarios, lib. i. c. 13. p. 160. as published at Cologne in 1617 cum permissu superiorum:—quoted by Heylin. Calvin himself in his Institutes goes nearly as far as this:—"Si quis hanc numeri observationem ceu nimis argutam fastidiat, nihil impedio quominus simplicius accipiat; Dominum *certum* diem ordinasse" &c.;—"ita tamen *ut superstitiosa dierum observatio arceatur*" (Calv., Instit., II. viii. 31. p. 99. ed. Amstel. 1667, and margin);—and again;—"Non *sine delectu* Dominicam quem vocamus diem *veteres* in locum Sabbathi *subrogarunt;*"—and a little further;—"Neque sic septenarium numerum moror ut ejus servituti Ecclesiam adstringam; neque enim Ecclesias damnavero, quæ *alios conventibus suis solennes dies* habeant, modo a superstitione absint" (Id., ibid., 34. p. 100). Barclay was the author of the once celebrated Argenis, and is certainly a prejudiced witness. An account of him may be found in Bayle, in the 2nd. edit. of the Biogr. Brit., and in Chalmers.]

my discourse to the establishing of the perpetual necessity of observing the Lord's Day by all Christians, and the immutability of it. Neither do I shrink now from any thing I said then. DISCOURSE I.

Since, I found by chance in the hands of a friend two treatises, the one yours, the other Dr. Heylin's[f], written in part upon this subject. I confess, my cursory view of them was not sufficient whereupon to ground an exact discussion of the differences between you, but sufficient to direct me to the true state of the question; which, if I conceive rightly, doth not much concern those things which are truly controverted at this day in the Christian world. I shall deliver you my judgment clearly and succinctly, rather paring away what seemeth to me superfluous, than adding any thing that is heterogeneous, to encumber the question. satisfied. 908

[*A. Of the Sabbath.*]

SECTION THE SECOND.

As, first, I boggle not at the name of Sabbath applied to the Lord's Day, so we understand it rightly of an analogical Sabbath. The immutable law of nature doth require, that God be worshipped, and that some time be set apart for the worship of God. This indefinite time was limited to the seventh day by the positive law of God, as the day peculiarly designed to the public worship of God; which ordinance was to last as long as the Jewish polity; but that being expired, the first day was set apart to Christians for the same end. So, without controversy, our day succeedeth their day in the performance of that everlasting duty, which by the law of nature we owe to God. Those days which are designed to the same end, are capable of the same denomination. To be a sabbath, or a day of "rest," is common to them both. Yet, I confess, I judge other names more proper than that of Sabbath; either Sunday, in a civil dialect, or the Lord's The question concerning the name Sabbath impertinent.

[f] [There is some difficulty in ascertaining what "treatises" are here intended, arising from what is said below in sect. xvi. pp. 73, 74. An account of the matter may be found in the Preface to the present volume.]

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Day, in an ecclesiastical. But to imagine, that because our day succeedeth theirs in the performance of that moral duty which we owe to God, therefore an express commandment to sanctify their day doth oblige us to observe our day, or therefore our Lord's Day is subject to the rules of the Jewish Sabbath, is just such another mistake, as if a man should argue thus,—Baptism succeedeth circumcision, therefore God's injunction of circumcision to Abraham doth oblige us to be baptized, or therefore all the laws of circumcision do bind Christians in Baptism. As the Sacraments are diverse, Jewish and Christian, so are their grounds.

And [concerning] heathenish festivals.

Secondly, neither do I trouble myself about those authorities or testimonies which are brought out of heathenish writers, to prove that the seventh and eighth days were esteemed holy by them[g]; because I esteem the whole discourse to be impertinent to our present controversy. For neither were those observations universal (as all the laws of nature are), nor the worship Divine worship, nor the object the true God; neither did they ground their worship upon right reason, but upon heathenish lies and fables. I might add, that they who make some of these allegations, do mistake the day of the month for the day of the week[h].

And other weekly holy-days.

Thirdly, I quarrel with no man about the other weekly holy-days besides the Lord's Day; that is, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. The two former were never esteemed festivals by the Church, but fasts[i]. Saturday was kept festival indeed, but neither universally in all places, nor perpetually in all ages[j]. Sunday alone hath been observed evermore and every where. All these impertinent debates, concerning the name of the Sabbath, or other heathenish or Christian holy-days, I do willingly pass by in silence.

[g] [See, for instances, Heylin, Hist. of Sabb., Pt. I. c. iv. § 8—10.]

[h] [The example is set by no less an authority than Clement of Alexandria (Strom., lib. v. Op. tom. ii. p. 713. Oxon. 1715), and from him and one Aristobulus by Eusebius (Dem. Evang., lib. xiii. cc. 12, 13; pp. 667, 668; 677, 678. Paris. 1628), of quoting from Hesiod (Op. et Dies 768) such lines as, "Πρῶτον ἕνη τετράς τε καὶ ἑβδόμη ἱερὸν ἦμαρ," and others of a similar kind from Homer, Linus, and Callimachus, as though they were parallel to the Jewish Sabbatical periods. But it was left to more modern divines (e.g. Ames, Medull. Theol., II. xv. 10. p. 294. Amstel. 1648) to quote them as directly relating to the seventh day of the *week* instead of to that of the *month*.]

[i] [See the authorities in Bingham, XXI. iii.]

[j] [Ibid., XX. iii.].

SECTION THE THIRD.

Two questions concerning the Sabbath.

Then to give you my sense of this present controversy clearly and succinctly.—The main questions which concern the old Sabbath, are two: first, whether the law of nature (which is properly the moral law) doth prescribe to all mankind the sanctification of this or that seventh day in particular, or any seventh day in the week indefinitely; secondly, if the law of nature do not prescribe it, whether it were imposed upon mankind by any positive law of God.

SECTION THE FOURTH.

I. First, whether it were a *moral* (or natural) law.

To the first question I answer, that a law may be called moral, either from the end, that is, to regulate the manners of men; and in this sense, without doubt, the law of the Jewish Sabbath was, and the law of the Christian Lord's Day is, a moral law. Or a law may be called moral from the duration of it; which is not made upon temporary respects, nor alterable according to the various exigences of times or places or persons. So a perpetual law is called a moral law, though it be no express precept of the law of nature. In this sense also, without doubt, the law of the Sabbath was a moral (that is to say, a perpetual) law; I mean, respectively to the Jewish Church, or so long as that Church, religion, and polity did continue. Therefore it is called a "perpetual covenant," and a "sign between" God and them "for ever." Exod. xxxi. 16, 17. Thirdly, the moral law, in the most strict and proper sense, doth signify the law of nature; that is, the dictate of right reason, that such and such things are good, [so] that it is disagreeable to the intellectual nature to omit them, and such and such things bad, so that[k] it is disagreeable to the intellectual nature to practise them, or approve them. Now,
909 before I answer positively, whether this law of nature do prescribe the observation of a seventh day, it is necessary to premise this distinction:—the law of nature is sometimes taken strictly, for the principles of moral honesty, and conclusions drawn evidently from them, which natural reason

[k] ["So bad that," in the folio edition; apparently by a misprint.]

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doth dictate to all intellectual creatures; and sometimes more largely, so as to comprehend not only such principles and conclusions adequate to them, but moreover all such things as reason dictateth to all men to be consentaneous or agreeable to those principles or conclusions. In this second sense, it is undeniable, that the seventh day's Sabbath and the Lord's Day are both founded upon the law of nature: that is, the law of nature doth prescribe, that some time be set apart for the worship of God; and, in pursuance hereof, the positive law of God, or of the Church, doth set apart one day in the week for this time. But in the first and more proper sense, the law of nature dictateth nothing of our weekly account, or of the holiness of any one day in the week more than the rest.

Natural reason dictateth not the holiness of one day in the week more than another.

My reasons to make good this assertion, are four.—

First reason;—[from the testimony of man's own conscience.]

The first is taken from the testimony of every man's own conscience. Let any man examine the practical notions of God and of religion, which he findeth dictated to him by natural reason; and if his mind be serene, not clouded with unruly passions, nor diverted by exorbitant desires, especially if he have not extinguished those rays of heavenly light by a long custom of presumptuous and habitual sins, and so superstamped the image of Satan, or some brute beast, upon the image of God, already much decayed by the fall of man; he shall find, that the light of natural reason doth dictate to him, that there is a God, and that this God ought to be worshipped, and some time set apart for His service; but he shall find nothing at all of the computation of time by weeks, much less of one precise day in the week to be dedicated to the service of God. This knowledge is derived unto us, either by the revelation of God, or by education and the institution of man; as is confessed by the greater part of them, who stand for the perpetual morality of the Sabbath in this stricter sense.

Second reason;—[from the impossibility of the same day of the week being observed by all mankind.]

My second reason is taken from the absolute impossibility of observing one and the same precise day in the week by all mankind; by reason of the different rising of the sun in several countries, insomuch that our midnight is noonday with our antipodes; and much more, by reason of the impossibility of distinguishing one day in the week exactly from

another in many countries, who have no evenings and mornings distinguished by the setting and rising of the sun, but all day, or all night, for two months, three months, four months, five months together: whereas the laws of nature are common to all mankind, and oblige all mankind, whomsoever, whensoever, wheresoever; they are the indispensable rules of justice in God Himself. Positive laws are made "ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον[l]"—for such cases as do usually occur. In extraordinary cases, the law-giver may dispense with his own ordinances. But there is no dispensation with the law of nature, being the eternal rule of justice in God Himself, and imprinted by Him in the heart of man. And therefore, seeing, that not only the precise observation of one and the same day in several countries, but also the exact and distinct observation of any one day in seven in many countries, is often impossible, it followeth demonstratively, that the law of nature doth neither prescribe the observation of one and the same day precisely to all men, nor the observation of one day of seven distinctly to some men.

Third reason;—[because the day has been changed.]

My third reason is, because the law of nature is immutable and indispensable, as being a copy of the eternal rule of justice in God, and therefore called the image of God, much decayed by original sin, but not quite defaced. All other things are turning shadows upon the old exchange of this world, but in God alone there is "no shadow of turning by change." Therefore the Schools do teach us, that God doth often "will a change," but never "change His will[m]." To will a change, argueth a change in us, not in God; as a crown and a sword may hang immoveable upon the roof of a house, yet a man may remove himself from under the one to be under the other: but if God should change His will, He should be
910 mutable Himself; for the will of God is God Himself[m].

[James i. 17.]

[l] [See Aristot., Ethic., V. xiv. 4.—"Ἐν οἷς οὖν ἀνάγκη μὲν εἰπεῖν καθόλου, μὴ οἷόν τε δὲ ὀρθῶς, τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον λαμβάνει ὁ νόμος, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν τὸ ἁμαρτανόμενον."—The argument in the text, from the different length of the day in different countries, may be found in full in Bp. White (Of the Sabbath, pp. 175—180. 3rd edit. 1636), and Heylin (Hist. of Sabb., Pt. I. c. iii. § 2, 3).]

[m] ["Velle mutationem"—"Mutare voluntatem." Thom. Aquin., Summ., P. Prima, qu. xix. art. 7.—"Quod non est in Deo aliquid quod non sit Deus." Pet. Lomb., Sent., lib. I. dist. viii. qu. v. tit.—See above in the Vindic. of True Liberty against Hobbes, Numb. xv. (vol. iv. p. 108.) Disc. i. Pt. iii. The illustration of the sword and crown is borrowed from Anselm, according to Bramhall's own reference (see the Vindic. of True Lib., Numb. xii. ibid.

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Therefore the dispensations of God may change, and the positive laws of God or man may change, according to the changes of places and persons and times; but the moral law, or law of nature, which is the unchangeable will of God or the eternal law of God to man, can never change. But it is evident and undeniable, that the Sabbath, or the day set apart for the service of God, hath been justly changed from the seventh day to the first day of the week; and the law of the Sabbath hath been changed. Therefore the law of the Sabbath is no express branch of the law of nature, and the observation either of the first day or of the seventh day was not determinately prescribed by the law of nature.

An objection answered.

It is objected[n], that though the law of nature do not prescribe one certain determinate day in the week for the public service of God, yet it prescribeth some one day in the week indefinitely. Thus they confess, that by the law of nature all days are indifferent, and no one day holier in itself than another, but relatively,—as it is designed or employed to more holy uses than other days. But that which they object, is evidently untrue. Natural reason taketh no notice of any such natural and universal computation of time by weeks. And it hath been demonstrated already, that the universal observation of one day of seven neither is nor can be the dictate of natural reason. Neither is there any ground, either in reason or revelation, nor authority Divine or human, to prove this pretended prescription of nature for the sanctification of one day in seven indefinitely. The Scripture saith, [Gen. ii. 3. —Exod xx. 11.] "God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it;" and the Commandment, [Exod. xx. 10.] "The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God;" both these places are determinate to "*the* seventh day," not indifferent to any one day of seven: and under the Gospel, Christians observe the first day in the week determinately: but where we shall find this one day of seven indeterminate, I know not. It is clear, that it was devised merely to reconcile the Jewish Sabbath with the

p. 77); but the passage has not been found in his Works.]

[n] [This appears to be Zanchy's opinion (In IV. Præcept., Op. tom. ii. p. 650), and is adopted (though in a very confused way) by Bound, Of the Sabbath, bk. i. pp. 60—75. So also the Lutheran Dietericus, as quoted by Heylin, Hist. of Sabb., Pt. II. c. vi. § 8. And see other references in L'Estrange, pp. 68, 69. of God's Sabbath &c. as quoted below p. 23. note b.]

Lord's Day, and to make the commandment for the one to fit the other. All the truth which it hath in it, is that which we say;—that the light of nature doth shew us, that God ought to be worshipped, and consequently that some time ought to be set apart for His service: but what that time is, or ought to be,—an hour, two, or three, in each day, or one day, or more, in each week, or both an hour or more in each day, and a day or more in each week,—dependeth either upon the election of particular persons according to their occasions and opportunities, or upon the positive precepts of God or our superiors. Discourse I.

Fourthly, I prove, that the law of [nature][o] dictateth nothing of the holiness of one day in the week more than another, from the grounds and reasons of the commandment of the Sabbath:—if they be natural and universal and such as are known to mankind by the light of natural reason, then the law of the Sabbath is a law of nature; if not, it is otherwise. Now the grounds of the commandment of the Sabbath are these:—"God blessed the Sabbath day and sanctified it," because "He rested in it from all His works which God created and made;"—and the fourth Commandment,—"In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day, wherefore God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it." Now the creation of the world in six days is known only by Divine revelation, not by the light of natural reason; and although it were known by natural reason, yet this conclusion,—that the seventh day is therefore to be sanctified for ever,—is no necessary inference by the light of natural reason, but dependeth upon Divine or human institution. Another reason of the Sabbath is set down Deut. v. 15;—"The Lord thy God brought thee out of Egypt with a mighty hand and stretched out arm, therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day." This reason is neither natural nor universal, but concerneth the Israelites only. There be other reasons of the Sabbath; as, to be a "sign" to distinguish the Israelite from all other nations, and to be a "type" of the rest of Canaan, of the spiritual rest of Christians, and of the rest of Heaven. But now Christ hath broken down the partition wall between

Fourth reason;—[from the grounds of the commandment of the Sabbath.]

Gen. ii. 3.

[Exod. xx. 11.]

[Exod. xxxi. 13.—Ezek. xx. 12.]

[Heb. iv. 4—9.]

[o] ["mankind" in the folio edition, by an obvious misprint.]

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Jew and Gentile, and so there is no longer any use of a distinctive sign. Now all types are fulfilled, and all these dark shadows must fly away at the glorious arising of the Sun of Righteousness. From all these reasons put together it appeareth evidently, that the grounds of the Sabbath were not 911
natural nor perpetual, and by consequence that the law of the Sabbath was no law of nature. Neither do I see any thing natural in it, but the setting apart a time for the service of God and the seasonable rest of the creature; which might be done by hallowing a part of each day, or a part or parts of some other day or days, or a sixth day or an eighth day, for any thing that natural reason doth dictate to the contrary. I confess, there are sometimes reasons given of moral precepts, of the eternal laws of nature; as this,—"That thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee;"—and this other,—"The Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain:" but they are no such reasons as these. They were reasons for the observation of the law, and these are reasons of the institution of the law. As the reason of the institution is, so is the law; the reason is not natural, therefore the law is no law of nature.

[Exod. xx. 12.]

[Exod. xx. 7.—Deut. v. 11.]

Moral upon supposition a contradiction.

Some[p] make the law of the seventh day's Sabbath to be moral and of perpetual right, not absolutely, but upon supposition of Divine ordination; which (if they understand the moral law properly and strictly, as they ought, for the law of nature) is a plain contradiction '*in adjecto*.' The law of nature is eternal, without any respect to the positive laws of God. And that law which oweth its perpetuity to a positive law of God, is no branch of the law of nature.

From all which hath been said, I conclude, that the law of nature doth not prescribe a seventh-day Sabbath.

SECTION THE FIFTH.

II. The *positive* law of the Sabbath.

And so, from the law of nature, I proceed to the positive laws of God; to examine, whether any positive law of the

[p] [The allusion appears to be to Ames, Medull. Theol., lib. II. c. xv. § 6, 12. pp. 291, 295. 8vo. Amstel. 1648. See Heylin, Hist. of Sabb., Pt. II. c. vi. § 6. p. 184. L'Estrange (God's Sabbath &c., pp. 65—67, see below, p. 23. note b) has attempted to defend Ames's position. And see also a tract entitled Sabbatum Redivivum, by D. Cawdrey and H. Palmer, Members of the Assembly of Divines, Pt. I. c. i. pp. 11 &c., 4to. Lond. 1645.]

seventh-day Sabbath did and doth oblige all mankind universally and perpetually from the beginning. Laws do not bind before they be promulged[q]. The law of nature is promulged sufficiently by being written in the heart of every man by the finger of God; and therefore it is called "*lex nata, non data*[r]"—"a law born" with us and in us, "not given" to us. But we have seen sufficiently, that the law of the seventh-day Sabbath is no such law; and therefore bindeth not before promulgation.

SECTION THE SIXTH.

The first promulgation of this positive law is supposed to have been as early as the creation;—"God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it;" that is, He consecrated it to His own worship, and commanded mankind to keep it holy. And without all peradventure, if the Sabbath was not commanded then, yet it was predetermined and destinated then. But, first, supposing that this interpretation were as authentic as the text itself, yet, this being confessed to be but a positive law of God, and no essential branch of the eternal law of nature, it is dispensable, and bindeth no longer than the good pleasure of Him who imposed it, and may be changed by the same authority which made it. I add further, that though this did include in it an express commandment of Almighty God, yet it concerneth not our question about the Lord's Day at all, otherwise than exemplarily. An express law to observe the seventh day of the week as the public day of God's worship, doth not establish, but (if it were still in force) did controul, the setting apart of the first day to that very use, exclusively to the seventh. And so I might omit this whole discourse as impertinent.

First promulgation pretended, Gen. ii. 3.

But for the reader's further satisfaction, I add two other answers.

1. The former,—that though I will not absolutely deny, but that a law may perhaps be close couched in these words—"God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it,"—because

1. Gen. ii. 3. no precept.

[q] ["Leges instituuntur cum promulgantur." Gratian., Decret. P. I. Dist. iv. Can. In istis Temporalibus.]

[r] ["Est hæc non scripta sed nata lex," &c. Cic., Pro Milone, c. iv.]

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some persons[s], whose judgments I honour, have thought so, yet I am not so sharp-sighted as to discover it; as finding neither any certainty of it, nor strong presumption for it. The text telleth us what God did Himself, not what He commanded us to do. God may do one thing Himself and yet command us to do the contrary. As, God may think fit to take away the life of a man's parent, and yet the son is bound by the commandment of God to pray for his parent's life; neither is there any contradiction herein, because the subject is not the same.

To deal ingenuously, those apposite reasons, which are brought to shew that this place containeth no actual law, are either absolutely convincing to a person unbiassed, or come very near it. I will name but two reasons for the present.

First reason.

The one is, that it doth not appear otherwise than by weak and far fetched conjectures, that ever the seventh day was observed as a weekly festival until the days of Moses: neither 912 by Adam himself, to whom it is pretended that this law was given; nor by Abel, his religious son; nor Seth; nor his son [Gen. v. 24.] Enos; nor Enoch, who "walked with God;" nor Noah, "a [Heb. xi. 7.] preacher of righteousness;" nor Melchisedec, a "priest of [Gen. xiv. 18.] the most high God;" nor Abraham, "the father of the [Rom. iv. 16.] faithful;" nor Isaac; nor Jacob: nor any other patriarch or person whatsoever. We find oblations, and priests, and altars, and sacrifices, and groves or oratories, and prayers, and thanksgivings, and vows, and whatsoever natural reason doth dictate about the service of God; but we find not one instance of the execution of this supposed law of the seventh-day Sabbath. And doth not this seem strange?—that such a solemn law should be given to Adam and all mankind, and not the least print or token of the observation of it be to be found for two thousand years; until it was renewed to the Exod. xvi. [22—30.] nation of the Jews in the wilderness, first, preparatorily, at the falling of manna, in order to the gathering and disposing thereof, and then more solemnly and more legislatively upon Mount Sinai; and that thenceforward the history of the

[s] [E. g. Abp. Ussher, as appears by his letter to Dr. Twisse, Of the Sabb. and Observation of the Lord's Day, pp. 78, 79 of Bernard's Judgment of the late Abp. of Armagh (8vo. Lond. 1657). Catharinus, Bound, and Ames, whom Heylin quotes (Hist. of Sabb., Pt. I. c. i. § 3, 4. pp. 6—12), are not likely to have excited much of Bramhall's sympathy.]

Second reason.

following ages should abound with so many proofs of the constant observation of it. The other reason is taken from the testimony of Holy Scripture:—Neh. ix. 14,—"Thou camest down also upon Mount Sinai," &c., "and madest known unto them Thy holy Sabbath by the hand of Moses Thy servant;"—and Ezek. xx. 12,—"I brought them into the wilderness," &c., "moreover I gave them also My Sabbath to be a sign between Me and them." Laws are "made known" and "given," not when they are renewed, but when they are first promulged; but the law of the Sabbath was "made known" by Moses and "given" by God in "the wilderness." After this, we see how often God complaineth of them for polluting His Sabbaths; before this, we find no such complaint: but if this place of Gen. ii. 3. had been a positive law of the Sabbath, there had been ten times more cause of such a complaint before than after.

[See Nehem. xiii. 15—22;—Jerem. xvii. 20—27;—Ezek. xxii. 8;—Isai. lviii. 13:—&c.]

The first Sabbath.

The first Sabbath that we find in Holy Scripture to have been ever observed by the Israelites, was in the wilderness upon the seventh day after the first falling of manna, which was the two and twentieth day of the second month. But it is evident, that the fifteenth day of the same month, which ought to have been their Sabbath or day of rest, if they had constantly observed any Sabbath or weekly day of rest before that time, was not observed as a Sabbath or day of rest at all, but spent in journeying and murmuring. From whence one of these two things must necessarily follow; either that the Israelites in the wilderness (where they were at their own disposition) did observe no weekly Sabbath before that time, or that they observed it not upon the same day of the week that they did afterwards. Whethersoever of these they admit, either the one or the other, their pretended necessity of the universal observation of the seventh day from the first Creation, by virtue of a positive law of God given to all mankind, doth fall flat to the ground.

Exod. xvi. 1.

2. The meaning of Gen. ii. 3.

2. My second answer to this place of Gen. ii. 3, is this;— that the sanctifying of the seventh day there, is no more than the 'sanctifying' of Jeremy "from his mother's womb," that is, the designing or destinating of him to be a prophet; or than the 'separating' of St. Paul "from his mother's womb." So the sanctification of the seventh day may signify the

Jer. i. 5.

Gal. i. 15.

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decree or determination of God to sanctify it in due time; but, as Jeremy's actual sanctification, and St. Paul's actual separation, followed long after they were born, so the actual sanctification of the Sabbath might follow long after the ground of God's decree for the sanctification of that day, and the destination of it to that use[t].

The opinion of the Fathers.

I have weighed seriously those testimonies, which are produced out of the Fathers by both parties *pro et contra*. First, of those, who maintain the negative;—that there was no law of the Sabbath imposed, either upon mankind in general or the Jewish nation in special, for the sanctification of the seventh-day Sabbath, before the time of Moses; and that none of the patriarchs from Adam to Moses did ever observe it as commanded expressly by God. The chiefest of these, and the prime leaders, are Justin Martyr[u], Irenæus[v], Tertullian[x], Eusebius[y], Epiphanius[z]; who all speak clearly and fully to the point, not at random or upon the by, but upon set purpose; insomuch as there remaineth no third [course], but either to acknowledge what they say to be true, or to renounce their authority in this particular point. To whom

[t] [See Poole's Synops. in loc., and the commentators quoted by Bp. White, Of the Sabbath, p. 41.]

[u] [Just. Mart., Dial. cum Tryphon., pp. 140. D, 141. B. Paris. 1636.—"Τὸν Ἐνὼχ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας" (the Patriarchs from Adam to Moses), "οἳ μήτε περιτομὴν τὴν κατὰ σάρκα ἔχοντες μήτε Σάββατα ἐφύλαξαν, μήτε δὲ τὰ ἄλλα, Μώσεως ἐντειλαμένου ταῦτα ποιεῖν." And further on;—Εἰ γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ οὐκ ἦν χρεία περιτομῆς οὐδὲ πρὸ Μωΰσεως σαββατισμοῦ," κ. τ. λ. And elsewhere in the same Dialogue. These and the following references are (apparently) borrowed from Bp. White, Of the Sabbath, pp. 43, 44. 3rd. edit. 1636, and Heylin, Hist. of Sabb., Pt. I. c. iv. § 4. pp. 73, 74.]

[v] [Iren., Cont. Hær., lib. iv. c. 30. p. 319. ed. Grabe.—"Ipse Abraham sine circumcisione et sine observatione Sabbati 'credidit Deo et reputatum est ei ad justitiam et amicus Dei vocatus est.'"]

[x] [Tertull., Cont. Judæos, c. ii. (Op. p. 136. E, F. fol. Rothom. 1662); "Cum igitur neque sabbatizantem Deus Adam instituerit, consequenter quoque sobolem ejus Abel, offerentem sacrificia, incircumcisum, nec sabbatizantem, laudavit; .. Noah .. non sabbatizantem de Diluvio liberavit; Enoch justissimum et non circumcisum nec sabbatizantem de hoc mundo transtulit; . . Melchisedech Summi Dei sacerdos . . non sabbatizans ad sacerdotium Dei allectus est." See also ibid. cc. iv, v.]

[y] [Euseb., Hist. Eccl., lib. i. c. 4. (p. 15. ed. Reading);—"Οὕτ' οὖν σώματος αὐτοῖς" (scil. the Patriarchs before Moses) "ἔμελεν, ὅτι μὴ δὲ ἡμῖν· οὐ Σαββάτων ἐπιτηρήσεως, ὅτι μὴ δὲ ἡμῖν." —Id., Præp. Evang., lib. vii. c. 6 (p. 304. Paris. 1628);—"Ἰουδαίοις μὲν πρῶτον ἀπάρξασθαι τῆς νομοθεσίας Μωσέα. Σαββάτου τινὸς παραδόντα ἡμέραν· . . Ἑβραῖοι δέ πρεσβύτεροι Μώσεως γενόμενοι τοῖς χρόνοις, πάσης τῆς διὰ Μώσεως νομοθεσίας ἀνεπήκοοι ὄντες, ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀνειμένον εὐσεβείας κατώρθουν τρόπον." — Id., Demonst. Evang., lib i. c. 6 (p. 12. D. Paris. 1628);—"Αὐτίκα τὸν Μελχισεδὲκ ὁ Μωσῆς εἰσάγει Ἱερέα τοῦ Θεοῦ Ὑψίστου, οὐ τὸ σῶμα περιτετμημένον, . . οὐ Σάββατόν τί πότ' ἐστιν εἰδότα," κ. τ. λ.]

[z] [Epiphan., as quoted below, p. 27. notes l, m.]

913 a larger reserve or recruit of other authors might be added; who though they speak not so directly or point blank as these, yet they say the same thing in effect, or they say that from which the same thing may be inferred by necessary consequence[a]. Discourse I.

On the other side, the testimonies of Origen, Cyprian, Basil, Nazianzen, Athanasius, are alleged; but as their times were later, so their testimonies are not so full, nor levelled directly at the question. Authorities answered.

First, the testimony of Origen maketh strongly against them who produce it:—"Those things which were afterwards commanded about the Sabbath, those Job anticipating did both fulfil himself, and taught his sons to fulfil[b]." First, it is most certain, that the example of Job can have no relation to the law of the weekly Sabbath. Those solemn devotions of Job and his sons were not performed every seventh day, according to the law of the Sabbath, but every eighth day; not with any reference to the days of the week, or of the [Origen.]

[a] [Other authorities, answering this description, are quoted by Heylin and White: e. g. Athanas., De Sabbat. et Circumcis. (below p. 25. note g), and Synops. Script., in Exod. (below p. 26. note h);--St. Jerome, In Ezek. c. xx. (Op. tom. iii. p. 834), "Hæc precepta et justificationes et observantiam Sabbati Dominus dedit in Deserto, ut facientes illa viverent in eis;"—Theodoret., In Ezek. c. xx (Op. tom. ii. p. 398, A. Paris. 1642), "Τῆς δὲ τοῦ Σαββάτου φυλακῆς οὐχ ἡ φύσις διδάσκαλος ἀλλ' ἡ θέσις τοῦ Νόμου;" and again ibid. C, "Τὴν δὲ τοῦ Σαββάτου φυλακὴν μόνον τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐφύλαττεν ἔθνος;"—Macar., Hom. xxxv. (inter Bibl. PP. tom. iv. p. 92. B), "In umbrâ Legis per Mosem datâ jussit Deus unumquemque Sabbato quiescere et nihil agere;"—Bede, Comm. c. 19. in Luc. Evang. c. vi. (Op. tom. v. p. 268. Colon. 1612), "Lucas. . volens intimare Sabbati Legalis observantiam cessare ultra debere, et naturalis Sabbati libertatem, quæ ad Moysi usque tempora cæterorum dierum similis erat, oportere restitui," &c.;—Joh. Damascen., De Fide Orthod., lib. iv. c. 23 (Op. tom. i. p. 298. D, E. ed. Lequien), "Ὅτε μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν νόμος, οὐ γραφὴ θεόπνευστος, οὔτε τὸ Σάββατον τῷ Θεῷ ἀφιέρωτο· ὅτε δὲ ἡ θεόπνευστος γραφὴ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐδόθη, ἀφιερώθη τῷ Θεῷ τὸ Σάββατον."]

[b] Origen., Hom. in Job, c. i. v. 5; [cited in part and translated by Bramhall (as are all the quotations which follow) from Hamon L'Estrange (God's Sabbath before and under the Law, and under the Gospel, briefly Vindicated from Novell and Heterodox Assertions, p. 29. 4to. Cant. 1641,—printed with a license from Parliament, as an answer to White, Brerewood, Heylin, &c.). The passage is from a Latin Commentary upon the book of Job (c. i. v. 4.), lib. i. inter Op. Origen, tom. ii. p. 858. ed. Delarue, Paris. 1733, decided by Huet to be not a genuine work of Origen's. It stands with its context as follows;—after speaking of Job's seven-days' feast for his seven sons, and his solemn sacrifice and worship on the eighth;—"Præcepit namque in Lege et dicit, 'septem diebus celebrabis diem festum Domino Deo tuo, et epulaberis tu et filius tuus et filia tua et servus tuus et ancilla tua et advena qui est in te et egenus gentis tuæ;' *quæ* ergo *in Lege post hæc præcepta sunt, hæc nimirum anticipans Job, et ipse implevit et filios implere docuit*, et hospitalitatem et eleemosunam et misericordiam et pauperum et miserorum beneficia atque consolationes, quæ sunt Deo valde acceptabiles cum fide perpetratæ atque perfectæ." L'Estrange quotes the clause in italics.]

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Creation, but according to the number of his sons; and if he had had another son, the assembly must have been put off until the ninth day, that is, until "the days of their feasting were gone about." Secondly, he saith the contrary to that, which they would have him say,—that the law of the Sabbath came in after Job's time:—otherwise, in what tolerable sense could Job have been said to have "anticipated" the commandment of the Sabbath, if the commandment of the Sabbath had been of force even from the Creation? And that pretended command (if it had been a command) had really obliged Job; but the commandment given by Moses the legislator of the Israelites could not have obliged Job, if he had lived in those days, as he did not. Thirdly, I answer, that Origen never thought of the weekly Sabbath in that place, but of an anniversary festival; which festivals are called Sabbaths, as well as the weekly. The words of Origen are,—"*Præcipit namque in Lege,*" &c.—"The Lord commandeth in the law and saith, 'Seven days shalt thou celebrate a festival to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt feast, thou and thy son and thy daughter and [thy] servant and thy maid and the stranger that is within thy gates and the poor or needy.'" This was the commandment which Job "anticipated." Then follow the words alleged by them; and immediately, in the same sentence,—"*Et hospitalitatem et eleemosynam et misericordiam,*" &c. The law which Origen intendeth, is the law of hospitality. He dreamed no more of the weekly Sabbath there, than of the man in the moon.

Job i. 5.

["præcepit."]

[St. Cyprian.]

Saint Cyprian saith no more, as he is alleged by themselves, but that "the number of seven obtained authority from the Creation of the world[c];" which is most true, from that ground he saith, not from that time: and that "it was honoured with the solemnity of a command[d];" but when it was so honoured, Saint Cyprian is silent. The very designation or destination of it to the public worship of God was a

[c] [Pseudo]-Cyprian, De Spiritu Sancto: [a work of Arnoldus, who flourished about 1162 (Cave); p. 61. in fin. Op. Cypr. ed. Fell.;—as quoted and translated by L'Estrange, ibid., who gives the original of the first clause only. The entire passage is as follows:—"*Sacratus hic septimanus numerus a conditione mundi auctoritatem obtinuit;* quoniam in sex diebus prima Dei opera patrata sunt et septima consecrata quieti; quasi sancta et sanctificans *solennitate vacationis honorata.*"]

[d] [Id., ibid.—The mistranslation—"vacationis" rendered "command"—is L'Estrange's.]

great 'honour,' but the accomplishment of that honour was at the legal establishment of it. It is much more material, that in the same place St. Cyprian restraineth the seventh day's Sabbath to the Jews;—"*In hebdomadibus apud* Hebræos *dies septimus Sabbatum, id est, Requies, appellatur*[e]."

[St. Basil and St. Greg. Nazianzen.]

It had been better to have passed by St. Basil and Nazianzen in silence, than to produce them as witnesses, when they say nothing material to the present controversy. All that they are pretended to say, is this,—that "the seventh day from the Creation was made the Sabbath[f]." Who doubteth of it? But what day, the same individual day or the same specifical day,—and whose Sabbath, or day of rest, God's or man's,—and when it was made, at the Creation or in the wilderness,—and how it was made, legislatively or exemplarily, by God's decree [and] destination or by actual establishment,—(which are the only things in question) they say nothing.

[St. Athanasius.]

That of Athanasius seemeth to have more weight in it, as it is cited by them:—"As long as the former age and creation obtained their force and efficacy, so long the Sabbaths were observed[g]." Yet even this cometh not home to a law. Many are ready to admit, that from the Creation some devout persons, either out of respect to God's example or by some special inspiration, did freely observe the seventh day as holy to the Lord, who do yet deny any universal law binding all mankind to the observation of it. And that this is the uttermost which Athanasius could intend, appeareth evidently from himself; where he telleth us, that in the book of

[e] [Arnoldus, ibid.]

[f] [Basil., Hexa-em. (as quoted in Latin by L'Estrange, ibid. p. 30). The passage cited is from S. Greg. Nyss., In verba Faciamus hominem. Orat. ii. (Op. tom. i. pp. 159. D, 160. A. Paris. 1638), "Ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀναπαύσεως τελείας, οὗ σημεῖον τὸ Σάββατόν ἐστιν ἡ ἑβδόμη ἡμέρα ἀπὸ γενέσεως:"—which orations were considered at one time (e. g. by Tilmannus and Combefis) as Hom. ix, x. of S. Basil's Hexaemeron.—Greg. Naz., Hom. in Nov. Dominic. (Op. tom. i. p. 700. B. Paris. 1609),—"Ἡ πρώτη κτίσις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ κυριακῆς λαμβάνει· δῆλον δὲ· ἀπὸ γὰρ ταύτης ἑβδόμη τὸ Σάββατον γίνεται, κατάπαυσις οὖσα τῶν ἔργων:"—also cited (in Latin) and translated by L'Estrange, ibid.]

[g] Athanas., De Sabbatis et Circumcisione, [Op. tom. ii. p. 55. ed. Bened.; translated by Bramhall from the Latin as quoted by L'Estrange, ibid. The entire passage in the original runs thus:—"Ἀκόλουθον ἦν ἕως τὰ τῆς κτίσεως ἐνεργεῖτο, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἕως τότε φυλάττειν τὰ Σάββατα· ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας γενεᾶς καὶ τοῦ κτιζομένου λαοῦ, κατὰ τὸ λεγόμενον" (scil. Ps. ci. 19), "ἀνάγκη μήκετι τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον τηρεῖν τὸ τῆς προτέρας κτίσεως τέλος ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς δευτέρας κτίσεως ζητεῖν."—For those (modern and hardly "many") authors, who believed the Patriarchs to have observed the Sabbath "out of piety," see Heylin, Hist. of Sabb., Pt. I. c. i. § 5.]

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Exodus "the Sabbath had its beginning"—"*Tunc et Sabbati observantia initium sumpsit*[h]." But the plain truth is, Athanasius is grossly abused in citing him thus. His "former age" is the age until Christ: and the observation of the 914
Sabbath which he speaks of there, was in "Hierusalem:" as Athanasius hath it expressly, but that the words are most guilefully omitted in the citation. It is much to be wished, that they who cite great authors, would either view them more carefully, or cite them more faithfully; and not apply that to the patriarchs before the flood, which the author speaketh expressly of the children of Israel. If I were to choose some place of a Father whereupon to ground my judgment of the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, I could not easily fix on a better place than this of Athanasius.

[Epiphanius.]

But their most material objection is out of Epiphanius; who, they say, 'maketh a twofold Sabbath; the one by nature, defined from the beginning, the other defined afterwards under the Law[i].' If this be true, then not only the positive law of God, but the very law of nature, doth prescribe a Sabbath. But the truth is, Epiphanius knoweth no such thing. He knoweth some Sabbaths which came weekly by the course of nature, but he knew no such determinate Sabbaths which are prescribed by the law of nature: yea, just contrary, in the very place alleged, he maketh all sorts of Sabbaths to be legal Sabbaths, or Sabbaths defined by positive law;—"*Σάββατα γὰρ διάφορα ὥριζεν ὁ νόμος*," &c.—"the Law" (saith he) "hath defined diverse sorts of Sabbaths[k];" and so he divideth them into weekly Sabbaths, and

[h] [Athanas.,] Synops. Scripturæ, [in Lib. Exod.; ibid. p. 132.—"*Ὅτε καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἡ τοῦ σαββάτου παρατήρησις ἤτε ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Σινᾷ Θεόθεν νομοθεσία.*"]

[i] ["Epiphanius mentioneth a twofold Sabbath under the old Law: the naturall or weekly, which was defined from the Creation; the Legall or Ceremoniall, which was enjoyned by the Law of Moses:"—L'Estrange, ibid., quoting Epiphanius,] Contra Ebion., p. 73. [(scil. fol. Basil. 1544), thus,—"*τὸ φύσει σάββατον τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁρισθέν· τὸ ὑπὸ νόμου ὡρισμένον.*"]

[k] [The entire passage from Epiphanius, which is taken from his] Panarium, [lib. I. tom. ii. Hær. xxx. Cont. Ebionæos, num. 32. (Op. tom. i. pp. 158. D, 159. A.)] edit. Petavii, [runs as follows,—after speaking of the "*σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*,"—"*Σάββατα γὰρ διάφορα ὥριζεν ὁ Νόμος· τὸ μὲν κατὰ ἑβδομάδα ἀνακυκλούμενον φύσει σάββατον τὸ δὲ διὰ τὴς ὑποπιπτούσας τῆς κατὰ σελήνην νεομηνίας καὶ τὰς καθεξῆς ἑορτὰς*" (scil. Tabernacles, Passover, &c.)· "*ὅτε γὰρ ἐμπίπτουσιν αὗται αἱ ἡμέραι, ἤτοι ἐν δευτέρᾳ σαββάτων, ἢ ἐν τρίτῃ, ἢ ἐν τετράδι, Σάββατον καὶ αὐτὸ αὐτοῖς ὁρίζεται.*" The word "*φύσει*" is rendered "proprie," both here and where it occurs again a few lines further on, in the Latin translation of Petavius; and the context proves him to have rightly so rendered it.]

monthly Sabbaths, and yearly Sabbaths; but still he maketh them to be all Jewish Sabbaths, all legal Sabbaths. Epiphanius is clear enough in the case:—"The seventh day God ceased from all His works, and blessed it and sanctified it, and manifested it to Moses by an angel[1]." It was not the first individual seventh day, but the same specifical seventh day, which God manifested unto Moses. If the seventh day had been observed constantly from the Creation, though it had been only by the Israelites, there had been little need that God should have made it known to Moses by an angel. The same Father in his Panarium saith:—"There were only types in the Law, but in the Gospel truth itself is contained; in the Law the circumcision of the body was prescribed, and that lasted until the great circumcision followed, that is, Baptism, which circumciseth us from our sins, signing us in the Name of the Lord; moreover they had the Sabbath, which leadeth us to the great Sabbath, that is, the rest of Christ, that we may rest from our sins in Him[m]." If the same law which prescribed circumcision to the Jews, prescribed also Baptism to the Christians; or the same law which prescribed the Sabbath to the Jews, had prescribed the Lord's Day to Christians; this had been the proper place for Epiphanius to have told us of it: but he knew no such thing. Then the law of the Sabbath and the law of circumcision had not ceased at all; but they did cease.

I conclude this point;—that it is most probable those words Gen. ii. 3,—"God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it,"—do not necessarily imply a commandment; and if they did, yet Christians do not observe the Lord's Day now by virtue of it. But I seem to myself to have insisted too long upon this point; seeing I have formerly declared, that although we granted all which they desire,—that those words did include an universal commandment to all mankind,

[1] [Epiphan.,] De Pond. et Mens., num. 22; [ibid. tom. ii. p. 179.—"Καὶ ἀνεπαύσατο ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἔργων Αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καί ηὐλόγησεν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐδήλωσε δι' ἀγγέλου τῷ Μωϋσῇ."]

[m] Id., Panar., lib. I. tom. i. [Hær. viii.] num. 6; [Op. tom. i. pp. 19. D, 20. A. ed. Petav.—"Οἱ τύποι ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ ἦσαν ἡ δὲ ἀληθεία ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ· ἔκει γὰρ ἡ περιτομὴ σαρκικὴ ὑπηρετήσασα χρόνῳ ἕως τῆς μεγάλης περιτομῆς, τουτέστι τοῦ Βαπτίσματος τοῦ περιτέμνοντος ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ σφραγίσαντος ἡμᾶς εἰς Ὄνομα Θεοῦ· καὶ ἦν ἔκει σάββατον, κατέχον ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ μέγα Σάββατον, τουτέστιν εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν Χριστοῦ, ἵνα ἐν Χριστῷ σαββατίσωμεν ἀπὸ ἁμαρτημάτων."]

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SECTION THE SEVENTH.

The law of the Fourth Commandment.

The next positive law is the fourth Commandment of the Decalogue. But if the former, even being supposed to be an universal commandment, doth not bind Christians, much less doth the fourth Commandment, as it was given by Moses to the people of Israel, bind them; that is, as it was a national law. I say, as it was given by Moses to the people of Israel: for, in the fourth Commandment, something is moral, or prescribed by the law of nature, namely, that a sufficient time be set apart for the service of Almighty God; this is perpetual and immutable, as being grounded upon the eternal rule of justice; and this the Schools call the substance of the commandment: and something in the fourth Commandment is not moral, in the strict and proper sense, that is, it is not prescribed by the law of nature, but enjoined by the positive law of God; as the determinate time and other circumstances, which they call "*modum sanctificandi*"—"the manner of sanctifying" the Sabbath[n]. This "manner of sanctifying" the Sabbath, with the time, and many other circumstances, were prescribed by God to the Jews; yet not so precisely in all respects, but that many things were left to the determi- 915
nation of the Jewish Church, as the forms of their hymns and prayers and thanksgivings. All that which concerneth the manner of sanctifying the Sabbath, is mutable, and may be actually changed; so it be by those who have competent authority to make such a change, and so as the law of nature be not violated, which requireth that a sufficient time be set apart for the service of God. But whether that time which is sufficient once, be sufficient evermore, and whether that time which is necessary once, be necessary evermore, is

[n] [See above, in vol. i. pp. xcviii, xcix, Bramhall's Letters, Letter XI.; and Thom. Aquin., Summ., Secund. Secundæ, Qu. 122. art. 4.]

not so pertinent to this present question. The continual volubility of human affairs, and the perpetual practice of all Churches, do seem to require more humiliation and more invocation and more thanksgiving at one time than at another. Certainly so much time is necessary as is prescribed *pro hic et nunc* by the just laws of God or man.

Some[o] catch hold upon the letter of the fourth Commandment,—"Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day;" that is, say they, not precisely the *seventh* day, but the *Sabbath* day, whether it be Saturday or Sunday, the seventh day or the first day, or any other day of the week, indefinitely and indifferently, which is set apart by just authority for the service of God. But the words following do absolutely controul them, setting down expressly and determinately what Sabbath day is there intended;—"The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God;"—and the reason following;—"For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth and rested the seventh day, wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it." The reason is not indifferent for one day in the week indefinitely, but for that one day in the week determinately. It is over-great supineness to make the Spirit of God argue thus,—God hallowed the seventh day for reasons proper and peculiar to that day, therefore do thou remember to observe the first day, and not that day.

[Exod. xx. 8.]

[Exod. xx. 10, 11.]

Thus we have seen, that although the law of nature doth not prescribe the sanctification of the seventh day determinately, yet the sanctification of the seventh day was grounded upon the law of nature; and although the positive law of God in the Old Testament concerning the Sabbath doth not bind us now, further than it containeth in it some express

[Conclusion.]

[o] [E. g. Zanchius, In IV. Præcept., Op. tom. iv. p. 657.—"Notandum est, in mandato ipso, quod hoc v. 8. continetur (nam quæ sequuntur, ad explicationem pertinent mandati), non sine causâ non dixisse, Memento ut diem septimum, sed, ut diem Sabbati, id est, quietis, sanctifices," &c.; going on to draw the inference mentioned above in the text. And from him L'Estrange, God's Sabbath &c., p. 42;—"I would gladly know where in expresse terms the Saturday-Sabbath or seventh from the Creation is commanded in this precept" (the 4th Commandm.): "examine and dissect it throughly;—'Remember thou sanctifie the Sabbath Day;'—the Sabbath Day it is you see, not the seventh from the Creation: therefore Zanchie," &c. (as just quoted). Bramhall's argument from the latter part of the Commandment rests partly on the Septuagint version. The Hebrew (and thence the Vulgate) reads, "The Lord blessed the *Sabbath* day and hallowed it."]

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principles or conclusion[s] of the law of nature, yet the equity of those laws, and whatsoever they have in them of the law of nature, doth still oblige us. We are more bound to God than the Jews, and ought at least to pay Him as much moral duty and service as they: excepting always such typical and pædagogical and some other rigorous injunctions, wherewithal God thought fit to nurture that stiff-necked nation.

[*B. of the Lord's Day.*]

SECTION THE EIGHTH.

Of the Lord's Day, the question not so great as some imagine.

So I proceed from the Sabbath, and that relation which it had to the law of nature and the positive laws of God in the Old Testament, to the consideration of the Lord's Day. All parties do agree, that the Saturday-Sabbath is abrogated, and the moral duties of that day justly translated to Sunday: but whether Sunday be now observed by Divine right or human right; whether the change was made immediately upon the Resurrection or Ascension of Christ, or afterwards in process of time; and by whom it was made, whether by Christ, or by His Apostles, or by the Church;—is controverted. Yet I hope the controversy is not so great, or important, as some imagine. They who ground the Sabbath upon Divine right, do not affirm peremptorily, that it was commanded by Christ in His own person; and they who ground it upon human right, do not exclude His Apostles. Some say, it was decreed by the Apostles; they who fly lowest, say, it was approved by the Apostles. They who hold, that there was a Divine precept for this change, do not hold positively, that it was the personal precept of Christ, but either of Christ in His [own] person, or of His Apostles, or of Christ by His Apostles. And, on the other side, they who deny a precept, do not deny it absolutely, but with this restriction, —'recorded in Holy Scripture.' So all parties do acknowledge it to be an Apostolical tradition. And, for my part, although I do most firmly believe, that all supernatural

truths necessary to salvation in point of the Christian faith, the Holy Ghost so guiding the pens of the Evangelists and Apostles, are contained in Holy Scripture, wherein our greatest adversaries when they state the question exactly do agree with us ("I say, that all those things were written by the Apostles which were necessary for all men," saith Bellarmine[p]), so, in truths of an inferior nature, and especially in
916 practical truths such as this, I do wholly subscribe to the determination of Dr. Field:—"It is not the writing which giveth things their authority, but the worth and credit of him that delivereth them, though but by word and lively voice only[q]." And his Appendix to the fifth book:—"They" (the Papists) "make Divine traditions equal with the words, precepts, and doctrines of Christ, left unto us in writing; Apostolical" (tradition) "with the written precepts of the Apostles; and ecclesiastical, with the written precepts of the pastors of the Church[r]." And he "confesseth," that "there is no reason why they should not so do, if they could prove any such unwritten traditions[s]," or (as it is in the former place) "any such unwritten verities[t]." All the danger is, lest particular traditions should be obtruded for universal traditions, or new upstart traditions for old Apostolical traditions. But in this case concerning the Lord's Day we may set our hearts at rest. For though the original institution of the Lord's Day be not recorded in Holy Scripture expressly, yet so much is recorded, as is sufficient to satisfy all conscientious Christians, that there was such an institution, either of Christ, or of His Apostles, or of Christ by His Apostles; and, with the help of the perpetual practice and tradition of the Catholic Church ever since the Resurrection of Christ, is sufficient to convince all gainsayers. He that professeth Christianity, and will not be satisfied with the perpetual and undoubted tradition of the universal Church of Christ, that is, of the whole world of believers, including the Apostles themselves, is utterly incapable of any real satis-

[p] De Verbo Dei, lib. iv. c. 11. [Op. tom. i. p. 244. B.—"His notatis, dico, illa omnia scripta esse ab Apostolis, quæ sunt omnibus necessaria, et quæ ipsi palam omnibus vulgo prædicaverunt: alia autem omnia non scripta esse."]

[q] Of the Church, lib. iv. c. 20. [p. 375. ed. 1628.]

[r] [Id., ibid., Append. to Bk. v., p. 850.]

[s] [Id., ibid.]

[t] [Id., ibid., lib. iv. c. 20. p. 375.]

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faction, and buildeth his religion more upon his own wilful humour and private phantasy than upon true judgment, and too much undervalueth the authority of the Catholic symbolical Church, and the promise made by Christ unto His Church, that He would "be with it always even unto the end of the world."

Matt. xxviii. 20.

SECTION THE NINTH.

Five questions.

Now, for the reader's further satisfaction, in my ensuing discourse upon this subject I will resolve these five questions:—first, by what authority, Divine or human, the weekly festival of the Church was changed from Saturday to Sunday, and who changed it; secondly, when or at what time this change was made; thirdly, what were the reasons or grounds of this change; fourthly, whether the Lord's Day, as [it] is now established, be changeable to another day or not; and, fifthly and lastly, what is the right manner of sanctifying the Lord's Day.

SECTION THE TENTH.

I. First, by what authority the Sabbath was changed.—[If not by our Lord's (which there is no cause to doubt), at least by that of the Apostles.]

To the first question, by what authority this change was made, I find no cause to doubt, for my part, but that it was made by the authority of Christ, that is, by Divine authority. It is true, that we find no express precept recorded in Holy Scripture for the setting apart the first day of the week for the service of God. Neither is it necessary, that there should be such an express precept for it found in Holy Scripture, to prove it to be of Divine right. The perpetual and universal practice of the Catholic Church, including all the Apostles themselves, is a sufficient proof of the Divine right of it;—that at least it was an Apostolical institution and ordinance; not temporary, for an age or two, but perpetual; not local, for a place or two, but universal. I say, at the least an Apostolical institution; for the Resurrection of Christ upon this day, and His divers apparitions to His Apostles upon this day, and His sending to them the Holy Ghost upon this day, and all this at such time as they were assembled together in their usual place of prayer, and in all probability whilst they

were performing the duty of the day, did at least evidently point out unto them this day for His public worship, and ratify their assembling upon this day to do Him service. Wherefore Athanasius saith[u],—"Anciently the Sabbath" (or Saturday) "was in high esteem, which solemnity the Lord translated to the Lord's Day." And Epiphanius, in his sermon upon Christ's Resurrection, upon the day of His Resurrection,—"This is the day, which God blessed and sanctified, because in it He ceased from all His labour, when He had perfectly accomplished the salvation both of those on the earth and those under the earth[v]." And St. Austin saith, that "the Lord's Day was sacred" (or consecrated) "by the Resurrection of Christ[x]." The same he saith in divers other places, and particularly in his hundred and nineteenth Epistle, to Januarius[y],—"But the Lord's Day was declared or promulged (not to Jews but) to Christians by the Resurrection of the Lord, *et ex illo cœpit habere festivitatem suam:*"—which last words may admit three various constructions; either "*ex illo*"—"from him," it "began to have its festi-
917 vity;" or "*ex illo*"—"from that time," it "began to have its festivity;" or "*ex illo*"—"from that thing," that is, from the Resurrection of Christ. Choose which of these senses you will, if you stand to the authority of St. Austin, the difference is ended. To say, that the Resurrection of Christ was the occasion of it, is not enough, either for a "*sacratus est*"—that it "was made sacred" by it, or a "*sanctificatus est*"—that it "was sanctified" by it, or a "*declaratus est*"—it "was promulged" by it.

But it is not at all material to me, or to the Divine right of the Lord's Day, whether it was consecrated by Christ Himself, or by His Apostles directed by His Spirit. That it

[Undeniable, that the Lord's Day is an Apostolical tradition.]

[u] Athanas., Hom. de Semente, [§ 1: Op. tom. ii. p. 60. A. ed. Bened.—"Πάλαι μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τὸ τίμιον Σάββατον· μετέθηκε δὲ ὁ Κύριος τὴν τοῦ Σαββάτου ἡμέραν εἰς Κυριακήν."]

[v] Epiphan., Hom. de Resurr., [Op. tom. ii. pp. 277. D, 278. A. ed. Petav.—"Αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα, ἣν ηὐλόγησεν ὁ Θεὸς, (καὶ) ἡγίασεν αὐτήν· ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων Αὐτοῦ, τελειώσας τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἐπιγείων, ὁμοῦ δὲ καταχθονίων."]

[x] Aug., De Civ. Dei, lib. xxii. [c.] 30. [§ 5; Op. tom. vii. p. 702. F. ed. Bened.—"Dominicus Dies velut octavus æternus, qui per Christi Resurrectionem sacratus est," &c.]

[y] [Id.,] Epist. cxix. c. 13. [editt. before Bened.—Epist. lv. c. 13. § 23; Op. tom. ii. p. 136. F. ed. Bened.—Ad Inquisitiones Januarii, lib. II.—"Dies tamen Dominicus non Judæis sed Christianis Resurrectione Domini declaratus est, et ex illo cœpit habere festivitatem suam."]

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is an Apostolical tradition, no man can well deny; and that it was no temporary or local constitution, which are mutable, but perpetual and universal, both the duty which is required, that is, the worship of Christ, and the ground whereupon it is required, that is, the Resurrection of Christ, and the uniform practice of the Catholic Church, do prove sufficiently. Whensoever, wheresoever, the Christian faith was propagated, the observation of the Lord's Day was propagated with it. Joseph of Arimathæa taught them the observation of the Lord's Day in Britain in the very reign of Tiberius Cæsar[z]. St. Matthew or the Eunuch read them the same lecture in Ethiopia[a]; and St. Thomas in India[b]: and although many of their converts have had little or no commerce with the rest of Christendom until of late years, yet from their conversion until now they have all of them observed the Lord's Day religiously. From whence we may safely infer, that if it was not instituted by Christ Himself, which is much most probable, it was an Apostolical constitution, and not a free custom intruded into the Church in long tract of time; nor yet a constitution of one single Apostle, but of all the Apostles, or the Apostolical College; and that speedily after the Resurrection of Christ. It is St. Austin's rule, that "whatsoever the universal Church doth hold, that was not instituted by Councils but always retained, is most rightly believed not to have been delivered but by Apostolical authority[c]." Such an universal tradition is the Lord's Day. The same Father speaketh yet more expressly as to the day itself:—"The Apostles and Apostolic

[Acts viii. 27—39.]

[z] [Bramhall appears to have assumed the story respecting Joseph of Arimathea's mission to England to be true; See, e. g., The Just Vindic., c. v. (above in vol. i. p. 160. note g) Disc. ii. Pt. i. The assertion that he taught the observance of the Lord's Day, is a mere inference from the assumption that he preached the Gospel and the fact that the Lord's Day was observed from the first in the British Church: at least there is no special mention made of the point in the many authorities (so called) quoted by Ussher, Antiq. Brit. Eccl., c. ii.]

[a] [S. Matthew preached in Ethiopia according to Socrates, (Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 19) and Rufinus (Hist. Eccl. lib. x. c. 9); see Tillemont, Mémoires &c., S. Matth. p. 391. note ii. The assertion respecting the Lord's Day is but an inference, as in the former case.]

[b] [For the ancient authorities respecting St. Thomas's preaching to the Indians (whatever nation be understood by the name), see Tillemont, ibid., S. Thomas pp. 356, 357, and note iv. There is no more express testimony here than in the other cases, respecting the Lord's Day.]

[c] S. Aug., De Bapt. Cont. Donat., lib. iv. c. 24. [§ 31; Op. tom. ix. p. 140. C, D.—"Quod universa tenet Ecclesia, nec Conciliis institutum sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate Apostolicâ traditum rectissime creditur."]

men decreed" ("*sanxerunt*"), "that the Lord's Day should be observed with religious solemnity[d]." By "Apostolical men" in St. Austin we ought to understand, not ordinary pastors endued with Apostolical qualities, but such persons, who though they were not of the number of the twelve Apostles, yet were employed by Christ as Apostles in the planting of Churches and the government of them. These twelve prime Apostles, and the secondary Apostles, who were their contemporaries, whom he calleth "Apostolic men," that is, the Apostolical college, accordingly either as they had been directed by Christ after His resurrection but before His Ascension, or were inspired by the Holy Ghost, were those who decreed the religious solemnization of the first day of the week or the Lord's Day. Therefore with good reason doth St. Basil reckon this as an Apostolical tradition, that "upon the first day of the week they made their prayers standing upright[e]." Here are two Apostolical traditions twisted together: first, for the time of their holy assemblies, —"upon the first day of the week;" secondly, for the gesture, that was, "standing;" and both in memory of the Resurrection of Christ. Neither was this the tradition of one single Apostle, as Saint John's tradition about the observation of Easter[f] is supposed to have been (though for my part I believe no such thing, but that some of his disciples did mistake a prudential compliance with the Jews, both for the keeping of that festival and of the Sabbath for a time, the better to gain them to Christ, for a different tradition), but a tradition of the whole Apostolical college. This appeareth

Discourse I.

[d] [Id.,] Serm. [ccli.] de Temp., [editt. before Bened.—Pseudo-Aug., Serm. cclxxx. § 2; Op. tom. v. Append. p. 467. A. ed. Bened.—"Dominicum ergo Diem Apostoli et Apostolici viri ideo religiosâ solemnitate habendam sanxerunt, quia in eodem Redemtor noster a mortuis resurrexit."—The words are borrowed by the author of the sermon from a tract attributed to Alcuin (De Div. Offic., c. 27. Op. p. 1072. Paris. 1617), as quoted by the Benedictine editors; which however is not Alcuin's according to Cave, but was written after A.D. 1000.]

[e] [Basil.,] De Spiritu Sancto, c. xxvii. [Op. tom. ii. p. 212. A, B. Paris. 1618.—"Καὶ ὀρθοὶ μὲν πληροῦμεν τὰς εὐχὰς ἐν τῇ μιᾷ τοῦ Σαββάτου· τὸν δὲ λόγον οὐ πάντες οἴδαμεν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὡς συναναστάντες Χριστῷ, καὶ τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖν ὀφείλοντες, ἐν τῇ ἀναστασίμῳ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δεδομένης ἡμῖν χάριτος διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν στάσεως ἑαυτοὺς ὑπομιμνήσκομεν· ἀλλ' ὅτι δοκεῖ πως τοῦ προσδοκωμένου αἰῶνος εἶναι εἰκών."—And compare (as regards the Lord's Day being identical with the first day of the week) the Hexa-em., Hom. ii. ibid. tom. i. p. 28. C.]

[f] [Irenæi Epist. ad Victor., ap Euseb., Hist. Eccl., lib. v. c. 24. p. 249. ed. Reading; and Polycratis Epist. ad Victor., ap. Euseb., ibid. p. 244.]

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by the uniform observation of the Lord's Day in all Churches. Neither was it a new upstart tradition; because no Apostolical Church doth take any notice of any new or later introduction of the Lord's Day among them, but derive it from their first conversion. I might prove this more, but that [it] is generally acknowledged, even by those who are not suspected to have attributed too much to the Lord's Day. As that learned Bishop,—"We believe that the holy Apostles ordained Sunday to be a weekly holy day[g]." If "the Apostles" did "ordain" it, then there was an Apostolical precept for it, either written or unwritten. The same is asserted by Brerewood:—"How hath the first day of the week gained the celebration and solemnity to become the Sabbath of Christians? by the constitution of the Church, and only by that; yet of that most ancient Church (I confess) which next followed the Ascension of our Redeemer[h]." 918

First objection;—[that this would render it only a human law.]

Against this which I have said, two things of moment are objected; first, that a constitution of any Church whatsoever makes but an human right[i]. If they did only oppose that Divine right of the Lord's Day, which some endeavour to derive from the fourth Commandment, or from any positive law of the Sabbath in the Old Testament, I should not oppose them at all; for I do firmly believe, that none of them do bind Christians now, further than their natural equity, and exemplarily. But to make Apostolical constitutions to be but human laws, that I cannot admit, and withal believe that the Holy Ghost hath Divine authority. Let them but cast their eyes upon that Apostolical sanction;—"It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things." And that very Apostolical constitution there mentioned doth concern this very case, more than perhaps most men apprehend; for it dis-

Acts xv. 28.

[g] Bishop White, Of the Sabbath, [A Treatise of the Sabbath Day, containing a Defence of the Orthodoxall Doctrine of the Church of England against Sabbatarian Novelty, by Dr. Francis White Bp. of Ely, p. 189. 3rd edit. 1636.]

[h] [Brerewood, Treatise of the Sabaoth (so spelt throughout the work) Oxf. 4to. 1630.] pp 37, [38.—Brerewood's doctrine is, in brief, that the 4th Commandment has (being a temporary law) ceased altogether, that the Lord's Day is simply an institution of the Church and not analogically related to the Sabbath, and consequently that it is an error and Judaistic to conceive the law of the Sabbath to be in any way the law of the Lord's Day.]

[i] [See e. g. Brerewood's Second Treatise of the Sabbath, p. 21. 4to. Oxf. 1632.]

chargeth all the Gentiles which were Christians, from the necessary obedience of the Law of Moses, and particularly from the observation of the Jewish Sabbath. Is it a likely thing, that the Jews' Sabbath should be abrogated by Divine law and the Christians' Lord's Day be introduced by human laws?

[It is not a prudential constitution merely.]

The former objection is yet further urged[k]:—that those constitutions which were made by the Apostles, as they were Apostles and were inspired by the Holy Ghost, did make a Divine right; but those prudential constitutions, which they made as pastors of the Church, do make but human right. Let it be admitted, that the Apostles themselves both might make and did make some dispensable constitutions, such as the Church might abrogate: but either they were local or temporary laws, fitted to some particular times or places; whereas this observation is perpetual and universal, for all times and all places of the Christian world, where there is, and so far as there is, a possibility to observe it: or else those Apostolical constitutions were about some petite ceremonies and circumstances; whereas this constitution is about that one necessary thing, the service of Almighty God, and that time which is to be set apart for the performance thereof: or, lastly, the grounds or reasons of those constitutions were mutable grounds or reasons; and being actually changed in tract of time, and so become impeditive of greater good, God Almighty doth dispense with them, and the succeeding Church may abrogate them; but the ground of this constitution is everlasting, to honour Christ's Resurrection, and to acknowledge Him to be our God.

Second objection;—[that there is no precept in Scripture for the change of day.]

Secondly, it is objected[k], that there is no precept of Christ or His Apostles for the abrogation of Saturday and solemnization of Sunday recorded in Holy Scripture.

[1. It is immaterial whether there be a *formal* precept.]

I answer three ways. First, it is not material, whether there be a formal precept for it or no, either written or unwritten. The precept is written in man's heart by the finger of God,—that a time is to be set apart for God's service,—and needeth not to be recorded in paper: which being so, the practice of the Apostles to solemnize the first day of the week to that end that Christians might imitate them (which is

[k] [Brerewood, ibid. pp. 27, 34, and pp. 18, 19.—Ironside, Seven Questions of the Sabbath Briefly Disputed, c. xix. pp. 173, 179, and c. xx. pp. 195, 196. 4to. Oxf. 1637.]

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recorded in Holy Scripture), is a sufficient precept or direction of Christians to the particular time. Not only the formal precept, orally given, of those who have authority, but the certain intimation of their pleasure, by what way soever it be done, doth oblige their subjects. Tarquin intimated his pleasure to his son sufficiently by cutting off the tops of the fairest poppies, without speaking a word; and he both understood him and obeyed him[l]. The ancient or common law of England doth not consist in statutes, but in old customs, and precedents grounded upon practice. A custom immemorial uncontrolled is a sufficient proof of sovereign approbation, and example is a more compendious way of direction than precepts. To question now, whether there was a formal precept for that which all the Christian world hath obeyed ever since Christ's time, and shall obey until Christ's second coming, is a strange degree of folly.

[2. It is immaterial whether there be a *written* precept.]

Secondly, I answer, that so there was a precept, it is not material whether it was written or not. A general's order must be obeyed, howsoever it be given, whether by word or writing. And he who shall disobey it, and except against it, because it was not given him in writing, if he be called before a council of war for his contempt, will find his error. I have shewed formerly[m], that our obligation to obey Apostolical pre- 919
cepts doth not depend upon the writing of them, but upon Apostolical authority; because Christ made them His vicegerents in His Church:—"As My Father sent Me, so send I you." He who had a certain guide, and would not follow him without a note or direction in writing, deserved to be left behind. "*Mutato nomine de te narratur fabula*[n]." The Lord's Day was solemnized by Christians before the New Testament was written.

[John xx. 21.]

[3. It is not so clear that there is no precept of the kind recorded in Scripture.]

Thirdly, I answer, that it is not so clear as some would make it, that there is no Apostolical precept recorded in Scripture for transferring the moral duties of the Sabbath to the Lord's Day. First, we have a solemn decree of the Apostolical College in the point, for discharging Christians from the necessary observation of the Law of Moses; whereof the law of the Sabbath is a part. Secondly, for the observation of the Lord's Day as a time set apart for His service, we

Acts xv. [23—29.]

[l] [Liv., i. 54.] [m] [Above pp. 32—36.] [n] [Horat., Sat., I. i. 69, 70.]

have, either a precept, or that which cometh very near it, and strongly implieth that there was such a precept:—"Now concerning the collection for the Saints, as I have given order to the Churches of Galatia, even so do ye; upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come." I observe, first, that this was no bare intimation of the Apostle's desire, but an act of Apostolical authority, or an express ordinance or command:—"As I have given order to the Churches of Galatia, even so do ye." Secondly, that this was no peculiar ordinance for the Churches of Corinth, but for the Churches of Galatia also; and from the parity of reason it may be justly presumed, that it was for all other Churches where such collections were to be made. Thirdly, that the received custom and practice of the Church was then, about twenty years after the Passion of Christ, for Christians to assemble themselves together constantly upon the first day of the week. If it had not been for this reason, that is, the public assembly of all who were interessed in this affair at that time, and the agreeableness of such a pious and charitable work with the other duties of the Lord's Day, the first day of the succeeding week had been a most improper day for all Christians to cast up their accompts of the forepast week, and to proportion their weekly charity to their weekly gains (as the text requireth—"As God had prospered him"), after the week was ended and the weekly festival was past. Now such assemblies could have no other ground but the Resurrection of Christ upon that day, and the sanctification of that day to the public service of God. That this was the common practice then, and this the end of their assembling, is evident both from other texts of Holy Scripture and from the perpetual custom of the universal Church. Fourthly, we observe hence, that the collection for the Saints is a proper work of a festival, and a part of that duty which we owe to Christ upon the Lord's Day:—"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of these little ones, ye have done it unto Me;"—whereupon the same Apostle groundeth his exhortation,—"To do good and communicate forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased." And that it was so esteemed in the primitive times, Justin Martyr is a luculent witness,

DISCOURSE I.

1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.

[Matt. xxv. 40.]

Heb. xiii. 16.

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who maketh these collections or oblations to be a Lord's Day duty[o]; and St. Cyprian, who taxeth the omission of this duty upon that day as a fault,—"Dost thou being rich believe that thou celebratest the Lord's Day rightly, who never regardest the poor man's box[p]?" From all which observations I conclude, that though the text do not expressly command that the first day of the week should be observed as the Christians' weekly festival, neither can it be inferred from these words in a divided sense, yet, if we take them in a compounded sense, with respect to the uniform practice of the primitive Church then and ever since, they do plainly prove, that the first day of the week was the weekly festival of Christians at that time, and do strongly imply or rather suppose, that before this Apostolical ordinance there was another antecedaneous precept for the observation of the Lord's Day: according to the judicious determination of Bishop White in his treatise of the Sabbath[q];—"It is not necessary to demonstrate out of Scripture, that the Apostles ordained the Sunday a weekly holyday," &c.; "for it could not possibly have come to pass, that all and every Apostolical Church throughout the universal world should so early and in the beginning of their plantation have consented together to make the Sunday a weekly festival, unless they had been directed thus by their first founders, the holy Apostles themselves;"—and so he concludeth out of St. Austin[q], 920 that "it is most rightly believed to have been delivered by Apostolical authority." If it was "delivered," not only by pastoral, but "by Apostolical authority," that is, by Apostles as Apostles, there is no reason to doubt of the Divine right of it.

"Corbonam."

[o] [Just. Mart.,] Apol. Secunda, [pp. 98. D, 99. A. Paris. 1636.—"Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλιν ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται," (and after reading the Scriptures, prayers, and the Holy Eucharist) "οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι, κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὃ βούλεται δίδωσι, καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῶτι ὑποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις," κ. τ. λ.]

[p] [Cypr.,] De Pietate et Eleemos., [De Opere et Eleem., Op. p. 203. ed. Fell.—"Locuples et dives es, et Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ" (S. Cyprian is addressing the "matronæ in Ecclesia Christi") "corbonam omnino non respicis; quæ in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis; quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis?" Where see Fell's note. "Corbona" =gazophylacium (Ducange, Gloss., quoting Matt. xxvii. 6,—"Non licet eos mittere in corbonam, quia pretium sanguinis est").]

[q] [Bp. White, Of the Sabbath,] pp. 192, [193:—from St. Aug., De Bapt. Cont. Donat., lib. iv. c. 24. § 31; Op. tom. ix. p. 140. C, D. See above p. 34. note c.]

Discourse I. [Conclusion.]

I conclude, that it is evident that the Lord's Day was an Apostolical ordinance, and that it is very probable that the Apostles were directed personally by Christ to do what they did, both about the time and place of His worship and the persons who were to serve Him; according to that remarkable place of St. Clement, a contemporary and very familiar with the Apostles, in his undoubted epistle to the Corinthians, as authentic a testimony as can be produced after the Holy Scripture;—"We ought to do all things in order, which our Lord commanded to be performed at set seasons, both oblations and liturgies, and commanded them not to be done rashly or disorderly, *ἀλλ' ὡρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις*"—"but at appointed seasons and hours; and where and by whom He would have them performed, He Himself hath determined by His sovereign will, that all things being done holily, and according to His good pleasure, might be agreeable to His will; they therefore, who make their oblations at the appointed times, are acceptable and blessed, who following the commandments of the Lord do in no wise transgress[r]." If Christ Himself did prescribe rules, both for the times and places, when and where Divine offices were to be performed, and the persons by whom, as St. Clement affirmeth with great confidence, there is little doubt to be made but the Lord's Day was His own ordination. And so I have done with the first question, by what and whose authority the Lord's Day is observed in the Church.

SECTION THE ELEVENTH.

II. When the Lord's Day began first to be observed.

The second question is, when Sunday began to be observed as the weekly festival of Christians; to which I answer by degrees.

[r] Clement., Epist. I. ad Corinth., [pp. 52, 53. ed. Jun. 4to.] Oxon. anno 1633. [—c. xl. p. 170. tom. i. inter Patr. Apost. Cotelerii.—"*Πάντα τάξει ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν, ὅσα ὁ Δεσπότης ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. Κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους τάς τε προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἰκῇ ἢ ἀτάκτως (ἐκέλευσεν) γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις· ποῦ τε καὶ διά τινων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι θέλει, Αὐτὸς ὥρισεν τῇ ὑπερτάτῃ Αὐτοῦ βουλήσει· ἵν' ὁσίως πάντα γινόμενα ἐν εὐδοκήσει, εὐπρόσδεκτα εἴη τῷ θελήματι Αὐτοῦ. Οἱ οὖν τοῖς προστεταγμένοις καιροῖς ποιοῦντες τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτῶν, εὐπρόσδεκτοί τε καὶ μακάριοι· τοῖς γὰρ νομίμοις τοῦ Δεσπότου ἀκολουθοῦντες οὐ διαμαρτάνουσιν.*"]

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[Through the whole Church immediately after the Apostolic age.]

First, that it was kept holy by all Christians throughout the universal Church immediately after the age of the Apostles: for which we have almost as many witnesses as there are writers of those ages, whereof some were successors of the Apostles and some were their contemporaries; as St. Clement[s], St. Ignatius[t], Melito[u], who wrote a book of the Lord's Day, Dionysius of Corinth[v], Justin Martyr[x], Tertullian[y], Origen[z], &c. This truth is undeniable; and so generally confessed, that I forbear to set down any testimonies about it. This

[s] [There is no passage in the genuine works of St. Clement of Rome more pointedly referring to the Lord's Day than that just quoted. But Bramhall alludes to such passages as the 64th of the (so called) Apostolic Canons (in Lib. viii. Constit. Apostol., tom. i. p. 450. Patr. Apost. ed. Cotel.—"Εἴ τις κληρικὸς εὑρεθῇ τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν ἢ τὸ σάββατον, πλὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς μόνου" (viz. the Saturday before Easter Day) "νηστεύων, καθαιρείσθω· ἐὰν δὲ λαικὸς ᾖ, ἀφοριζέσθω"), which go under the name of Clement. See the notes of Beveridge and Cotelerius upon the passage. This, with most of Bramhall's other references here, and some additional (see e. g. S. Basil as above quoted p. 35. note e, and St. Aug. as above quoted p. 33. notes x, y, and S. Cypr., Epist. 64. Ad Fidum, p. 161. ed. Fell, to which many others might be added), may be found in Bellarm., De Cultu Sanct., lib. iii. c. 11. Op. tom. i. p. 2172. D, and the other writers upon the controversy.]

[t] [Ignat., Epist. ad Magnes., § ix. p. 57. tom. ii. ap. Cotel.—"Καὶ μετὰ τὸ σαββατίσαι ἑορταζέτω πᾶς φιλόχριστος τὴν κυριακὴν, τὴν ἀναστάσιμον, τὴν βασιλίδα, τὴν ὕπατον πασῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν· ἣν περιμένων ὁ προφήτης ἔλεγεν" (quoting Ps. vi. 1, xi. 1, i. e. the titles) &c., "ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζώη ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλε, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου γέγονε νίκη ἐν Χριστῷ."—This is an interpolated Epistle of St. Ignatius, and a large portion of the above passage is given up by later editors as spurious (see Jacobson's edit. of the PP. Apostol. tom. ii. p. 314); but enough remains to prove what is here in question. Ussher assailed this very passage in one of the Letters (published after his death by Dr. Bernard), which gave rise to the controversy connected with the present tract.]

[u] ["Μελίτωνος . . ὁ περὶ Κυριακῆς λόγος." Euseb., Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. c. 26. p. 188. ed. Reading.]

[v] [Ap. Euseb., Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. c. 23. p. 187. ed. Reading.—"Λέγει γοῦν" (viz. Dionysius, in an Epistle to Peter then Bp. of Rome, and to the Roman Church), "'Τὴν σὴμερον οὖν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνεγνώκαμεν μὲν ὑμῶν τ�ὴν ἐπιστολήν,'" κ. τ. λ.]

[x] [Just. Mart., Apol. Secunda; see above p. 40. note o.]

[y] [Tertull., Apol., c. xvi. (tom. i. p. 47. A. fol. Rothomag. 1662), "Æque si diem Solis lætitiæ indulgemus, aliâ longe ratione quam religione Solis," &c.; where Tertullian is answering a charge against the Christians of worshipping the sun.—Id., De Idololat. c. xiv. (ibid. p. 243. C.), "Quæ nullam solennitatem Christianorum sibi vindicat, non Dominicum diem, non Pentecosten."—Id., De Cor. Mil. c. iii. (ibid. p. 289. B), "Die Dominico jejunium nefas dicimus, vel de geniculis adorare;" and c. xi. (ibid. p. 292. E), "Jam aut stationes aut alii magis faciet quam Christo, aut et Dominico die quando nec Christo?"—Id., De Jejun. c. xv. (ibid. p. 988. D), "Duas in anno hebdomadas xerophagiarum, nec totas, exceptis scilicet Sabbatis et Dominicis, offerimus Deo."]

[z] [Origen., Hom. vii. in Exod., c. 5. Op. tom. ii. pp. 153. D, 154. R, ed. Delarue.—"Ex Divinis namque Scripturis apparet, quod in die Dominicâ primo in terris datum est manna. Si enim (ut Scriptura dicit) sex diebus continuis collectum est, septimâ autem die, quæ est Sabbatum, cessatum est, sine dubio initium ejus a die primâ, quæ est dies Dominica, fuit. Quod si ex Divinis Scripturis hoc constat, quod die Dominicâ Deus pluit manna de cœlo et in Sabbato non pluit, intelligant Judæi jam tunc prælatam esse Dominicam nostram Judaico Sabbato," &c.]

was one of the grounds of that great mistake and calumny which the heathens cast upon the primitive Christians,—that they adored the sun,—because they prayed towards the East, and kept Sunday as a weekly festival[a]. The heathens might well scoff at our Sunday devotions, but no Christians did ever dislike or disesteem them; not the Ebionites themselves, who thought the law of the Sabbath continued still in force[b], much less Clemens Alexandrinus[c] or Origen[d]. Those two Fathers did not at all dislike the solemnization of Sunday; that was far from them: but they disliked the indevotion of their hearers upon other days in the week. "Tell me, you that meet at the Church only upon festival days" (the emphasis lies in the word "*only*"), "are not other days festival days? are they not the Lord's Days[e]?" The very truth is, they were not well pleased, that their auditors in Alexandria did not repair as frequently to their daily sermons as they desired, or as they did to Sunday assemblies.

[And in the days of the Apostles themselves.]

My second conclusion is, that Sunday was observed by Christians as a weekly holyday in the days of the Apostles themselves, and by the Apostles themselves: whence St. John calleth it "the Lord's Day," as by an usual and well known name, either because the Lord was the author, or the Lord was the object, of Sunday devotions; and so the Catholic Church hath evermore understood that place. I am not ignorant, how some[f] would have "the Lord's Day" to signify

Rev. i. 10.

[a] [Tertullian., Apol., c. xvi. as quoted above in note y.]

[b] [Euseb., Hist. Eccl., lib. iii. c. 27. p. 221. ed. Reading.—Theodoret., De Fabul. Hæret., lib. ii. c. 1; tom. iv. p. 328. ed. Shulz.]

[c] [Clem. Alex., Strom., lib. vii. tom. ii. p. 877.—"Οὗτος ἐντολὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διαπραξάμενος, κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ, ὅτ' ἂν ἀποβάλλῃ φαῦλον νοήμα καὶ γνωστικὸν προσλάβῃ, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων." See Heylin, Hist. of Sabb., Pt. II. c. ii. § 6. pp. 49, 50. Bramhall's explanation relates only to the passage which he himself cites from Origen. The passage of St. Clement just quoted, and other expressions of Origen, which are brought forward as disproving the literal observance of a set day as the Lord's Day, are really (as is obvious in the quotation just made) nothing more than exhortations to a perpetual observance of it in spirit.]

[d] Origen., [In Genes. Hom. x. (Op. tom. ii. p. 88), as quoted in the next note, and elsewhere. See Heylin, as just quoted, § 9. pp. 54, 55.]

[e] [Id., In Genes. Hom. x. § 3.—"Dicite mihi vos qui tantummodo festis diebus ad Ecclesiam convenitis, cæteri dies non sunt festi? Non sunt dies Domini? Judæorum est dies certos et raros observare solemnes; et ideo ad eos dicit Dominus, quod 'neomenias vestras et Sabbata,'" &c., "'non sustineo,'" &c.; "odit ergo Deus eos qui unum diem putant festum diem esse Domini; Christiani omni die carnes Agni comedunt," &c.]

[f] [E. g. Gomarus, De Sabbati Origine, c. vi. § 33, 34 (Op. tom. iii. p. 338. b. fol. Amstel. 1644); referred to by Heylin, Hist. of Sabb., Pt. II. c. i. § 12. p. 34.]

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the Day of Judgment, but most improperly and without any reasonable ground. Was the Day of Judgment a fit time for [Rev. i. 1.] the revelation of "things that must shortly come to pass?" What have the seven golden candlesticks, and seven stars, and seven epistles, to do with the Day of Judgment? Others[g], by the Lord's Day, would understand (not the weekly but) the anniversary day of Christ's Resurrection, or Easter day; which, according to the Jewish manner of observing that Feast (which St. John followed), might fall upon any day of the week. Though it were supposed, yea, admitted, that St. John did tolerate the observation of Easter according to the time set down in the Mosaical law, or (it 921
may be) observed it so himself at Ephesus in a congregation of converted Jews, to comply with the dispensation of the Apostles (made upon prudential reasons, the better to gain the Jews to Christ or to retain them in the Christian religion), and to make a distinction between Jewish rites, whereof God had been the author, and, lastly, to give the Mosaical Law an honourable burial; yet what reason was there to observe it after the Jewish manner in Patmos, which was the place of his exile, where in probability there was never a Jew? Howsoever, the common consent of all interpreters, and the perpetual practice of the Catholic Church in all ages, from St. John to St. Ignatius his scholar, and so downward until this day, to give the name of the Lord's Day to Sunday and to no other festival of the Church weekly or annually, do sufficiently assure us, what St. John did understand by the Lord's Day.

[The Judaico-Christian observance of the Jewish Easter and of the Jewish Sabbath or Saturday.]

But because this question concerning the observation of Easter of old did make such a noise and hubbub in the world, and seemeth to commit the Apostles together, St. John against St. Peter and St. Paul, as if they left contradictory traditions and precepts to their disciples; and because this supposed tradition of St. John is made an argument to prove, that the Lord's Day was not instituted by Christ or His Apostles; I will endeavour to shew, that this difference was (as most differences prove to be, when they are examined to

[g] [This interpretation is also suggested by Gomarus, ibid. § 37. p. 339. a; and by Brabourne, Disc. on the Sabbath, p. 9.]

the bottom) of no great concernment in theology, but a point of prudence and discretion only.

We find a question started by some pharisaically affected Christians, whether "it was needful for the Gentiles" to be circumcised, and to observe the Mosaical Law. Under the Mosaical Law both the law of the Sabbath and the law of the Passover were comprehended. To decide this doubt, the Apostles and Elders of the Church assembled in council: wherein they freed and discharged the Gentiles from all necessary obedience to the Law of Moses; but as for the Jews, though they declared the Law to be a burden, "which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear," and that both we and they must expect salvation, not from our obedience to the Mosaical Law, but "through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," yet they did not forbid the Jews all compliance with the Law of Moses; nay, rather, out of prudential and charitable considerations, they both advised them to it, and by their own example encouraged them in it;—"Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe, and they are [all] zealous of the Law; and they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses," &c.; therefore they exhort him to "purify" himself, adding, that "touching the Gentiles which believe," they had "written and concluded that they should observe no such thing." Thence it was that St. Paul caused Timothy, whose mother was a Jewess, to be circumcised;—to give satisfaction to the Jews. This prudent indulgence and charitable condescension of the Apostles to the Jews, the better to retain those in the Christian religion who were converted, and to facilitate the conversion of those who were unconverted, was the true and the only reason of the observation of Saturday as a weekly festival in the primitive Church, for some ages, after the law of the Sabbath (as to the legal obligation of it) was utterly abrogated; especially in the Eastern Church[h], where the Jews were dispersed all over in the most noted places. But in most parts of the Western Church, where assemblies of Jewish converts were very rare, Saturday was observed rather as a weekly fast than a festival. This was the true reason, and the only

Acts xv. 5.

Acts xv. 10, 11.

Acts xxi. 20, [21.]

[Acts xxi. 24, 25.]

Acts xvi. 3.

[h] [See authorities quoted in Bingh., XIII. ix. 3. and XX. iii. 5, 6.]

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reason, of the observation of Easter in some Asiatic Churches according to the Jewish accompt; and, likewise, why Easter was never observed according to the Jewish accompt in the Western Church, where there were no such considerable number of Jews or Jewish converts in those days. Yet neither did this Apostolical indulgence extend at all either to the diminution of the festival-solemnity of Sunday, in any Churches, Eastern or Western, nor produce any such irregular keeping of Easter in the Western Church; where, though the Britannic Churches did not observe it uniformly with the Roman upon the same Sunday, by reason of their different computation, yet they always kept it upon a Sunday, and yet derived their manner of keeping it from the example of St. John[i]. Neither did this Apostolical dispensation extend 922
to the introducing of any Jewish rites, which were opposite to the truth of Christian religion. They had no Paschal Lamb at Easter; they had no Jewish sacrifices upon Saturday, as they used to have in the Temple upon their Sabbath; which
[John i.29.] had derogated too much from the true Paschal "Lamb, that taketh away the sins of the world," and from the all-sufficient Sacrifice of the Cross.

Thus we see, upon how small grounds that great controversy about Easter was founded;—that St. John might well be the author of the Revelations, and yet his "Lord's Day" be Sunday. A general precept, and a particular dispensation made by the same authority that gave the law, are not contradictory one to the other, nor inconsistent one with another. The law of circumcision upon the eighth day precisely was
[Josh. v. 2—9.] neither abrogated nor invalidated by the necessary delay of circumcision in the wilderness for many years together: much less were the observation of Saturday for a time in many Churches, and the keeping of the anniversary feast of Easter in some Churches of the East at the Jewish times but after the Christian manner, inconsistent with, or contradictory to, the more regular and more Christian practice of the Catholic Church; whilst neither the one nor the other were sought to be obtruded as necessary upon Christians. And this was the reason, why Polycarpus and those other Eastern

[i] [See authorities, with a brief account of the controversy, in Bingham, Orig. Eccl., XX. v. 2—4.]

Bishops, who kept the feast of Easter at the same time with the Jews, were not condemned as heretics or schismatics by the Church;—because they did not maintain their own custom to be of universal necessity, nor condemn the customs of other Christians. And yet the Quarto-decimans, who observed the same custom that Polycarpus and Polycrates did, were justly condemned as heretics and schismatics by the Church; because they maintained, that their custom was universally necessary, and would have imposed it upon all other Christians. Discourse I.

This is the first time that we meet with the name of Lord's Day, but we find the thing more early; as in the place formerly cited;—"Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come." In which words we find two acts required. The first is the private act of every Christian, which no man can take cognizance of but himself; that is, to liquidate his clear weekly gains, and lay by a proportion of it for charitable uses freely of his own accord,—"παρ' ἑαυτῷ τιθέτω;"—the other act is public, to deposit his bounty or charity in the common treasury of the Church, which followeth in the next word—"θησαυρίζων"—"treasuring" or storing up, that is, in the common treasury of the Church. That this is the right sense appeareth by the last words,—"That there be no gathering when I come." If every particular Christian had detained his oblation in his own hands, there must of necessity have been a new "gathering." But whatsoever the Apostle proposed to himself, it is likely some of them proved backward enough. For which reason he sent an express to them to see that their "bounty" was "made up aforehand." I shall need to add nothing to what I have said before[j] upon this text, but only the judgment of a learned Bishop who cannot be accused of being a Sabbatarian:—"Although this text of St. Paul maketh no express mention of Church assemblies on this day, yet, because it was the custom of Christians, and likewise because it is a thing convenient, to give alms upon the Church days, it cannot well be gainsaid, but that [if] in Corinth and Galatia the first day of the week was appointed to be the day for

1 Cor. xvi. 2.

2 Cor. ix. 5.

[j] [Above, sect. x. pp. 38—40.]

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alms and charitable contribution, the same was also the Christians' weekly holyday for their religious assemblies[k]." He saith not 'condescended unto,' but "appointed."

[Acts xx. 7.]

We find the Apostolical practice yet more clearly Acts xx. 7:—"And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow, and continued his speech until midnight." Sundry old books[l] read it, "When *we* were come together;" intimating, that St. Luke himself was present and an eye witness; which Beza takes to be the truer reading. We have seen formerly weekly collections for the Saints, "upon the first day of the week," which is one branch of the duty of the Lord's Day. Now we have religious assemblies, and communicating, and preaching, upon "the first day of the week." We find that Christ rose again upon the first day. We find sundry of His apparitions upon the first day. 923 We find the Holy Ghost given at such an assembly upon

[Lev. xxiii. 16.—Acts ii. 1.]

"the day of Pentecost;" that was the first day. In all these places the time, that is, "the first day," is emphatically expressed. He who would persuade us, that all this happened by chance, which happened so often, let him shew us as much for the second day or the third day, or any other day of the week, so emphatically expressed, without any apparent reason.

But they say, the words, "Ἐν τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων," do signify some "one" day of the week indefinitely, both in this and other places[m]. They have a hard province, not only to oppose the authority of the Church of England, which translateth it "upon the first day," but also the unanimous consent of the Fathers, who expound it of the first day, and the very letter of the text. We never find these words, "Ἐν τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων," throughout the whole Scripture, taken indefinitely for some "one" day in the week; neither will the particle which is added, suffer it to be taken indefinitely[n].

[k] Bp. White, Of the Sabbath, pp. [211,] 212. [3rd. edit. 1636.]

[l] [See Beza's note on the passage in his New Testament (p 494. fol. Genev. 1582). "Ἡμῶν" is the reading of the celebrated Codex Bezæ (among others), and is preferred by Griesbach, instead of the received "τῶν μαθητῶν." See also Mill and Wetstein in loc.]

[m] [Vide Gomarus, De Sabb. Orig., c. vi. § 2—11. Op. tom. iii. pp. 335, 336; and Erasmus, and Calvin, ad Act. xx. 7, as quoted by him.]

[n] [See Beza's note in loc.]

Moreover they make the Holy Ghost to babble superfluously. If no more ought to be understood but some one day of the week indefinitely[o], what needed so many emphatical expressions of that which all the world knew before? Whatsoever is done, must be done upon some day of the week, unless they could find out some day which is none of the seven days. If St. Paul had ordained that collections should be made upon some day of the week indefinitely, what account could he in reason have expected of his precept, when "the trumpet gave" such "an uncertain sound?" But it is evident, that that "one day" whereupon Christ did rise again, was the first day, and no other. And that "one day" whereupon He appeared, was the same first day. And so throughout, "one day" is the first day, and no other. The reason of this denomination is obvious: one day by a Hebraism signifying the first day properly, as, "The evening and the morning were one day," that is, the first day.

Discourse I.

[1 Cor. xiv. 8.]

Gen. i. 5.

It followeth,—"when the disciples came together;" not, when they were called or summoned to come together extraordinarily. It implieth strongly, that the ordinary religious assemblies of the primitive Christians were upon the first day of the week: as, if one should say, "At the feast of the passover when Pilate did release a prisoner to the people," it implieth Pilate's custom of releasing a prisoner to the people every Passover.

[Matt. xxvii. 15.—&c.]

"To break bread." I know, that "breaking of bread" in Holy Scripture often signifieth temporal refection[p]; but in this place and sundry others it signifieth evidently distribu-

[o] [Heylin (Hist. of Sabb., Pt. II. c. i. § 9), to whom Bramhall is principally replying, suggests also, that "τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων" may mean merely "on a certain Sabbath day;" an interpretation suggested, but not preferred, by Calvin (ad loc.).]

[p] ["Therefore it seems by him" (viz. S. Chrys. ad Act. xx. 7.), "that as the meeting was at *an ordinary supper*, so the discourse there happening was no sermon properly but *an occasional dispute*." Heylin, ibid.; who quotes as authorities Lyra, Calvin (ad Act. ii. 46), and S. Chrysostom, in their respective Commentaries, and the marginal reference (in the then authorized Version) to Acts ii. 46. The first alone is to his point: Calvin (ad Act. xx. 7) mentions the interpretation in order to reject it: S. Chrysostom simply speaks of "παρ' αὐτὸν τοῦ δείπνου τὸν καιρὸν" as a circumstance marking the zeal of the hearers, and says expressly that the day was "the Lord's Day"—"Κυριακὴ" (Hom. xliii. in Act. Apost., Op. tom. iv. p. 849. ll. 10, 13); while, for the marginal reference, although Acts ii. 46. is the only parallel passage marked in the Bibles of 1611 and earlier, yet (curiously enough) that reference is given in a still earlier edition, that of 1583, with an express explanation of the meaning of the clause questioned, viz. "*to celebrate the Lord's Supper.*"]

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tion of the Holy Sacrament, and the context will not bear any other sense: as 1 Cor. x. 16,—"The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the Body of Christ?"—and Acts ii. 42,—"They continued stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship and breaking of bread and prayers." Where prayer and doctrine are joined with "breaking of bread," what can be understood but the Holy Eucharist? It had been a very mean commendation of the primitive Christians, to have said that they persevered stedfastly in eating and drinking, or at their temporal refections. And so in this place, not only the authority of the Church of England and the consent of antiquity, but even evidence of reason, doth evince, that it must be so understood. When was this meeting? Upon a Sunday; a day confessedly dedicated to the public service of God in the days of the Apostles. Who were they that did meet? A selected company of particular friends? No, but the disciples in general. How was this "breaking of bread" accompanied? With a long sermon; a fitter companion for a Sacrament than for a feast. The case is so plain, that it requireth no long debate. They may as well tell us, that when Eutychus fell from the window, he did but drop down from the table, as that this "breaking of bread" was no more than an "ordinary" repast. To sit in a window might be a convenient posture for a hearer at a long sermon, but no convenient posture for a guest, or for a waiter at a feast. Yet still I deny not, that there might be a civil refection; but I would not have the civil refection to exclude both sermon and Sacrament, which did accord well together in those days.

[Acts xx. 9.]

Lastly, some would persuade us, that St. Paul's sermon was nothing else but some "occasional discourse[q]" as they sat at meat: wherein they do once more desert our authorized translation, which styleth it "preaching;" and in the contents of the chapter, "breaking of bread" is expounded to be "the celebration of the Lord's Supper." If the pulpit be an essential of a sermon, it may be it was no sermon; but certainly it was a theological discourse, fit for so great a pastor upon a holy day to such an assembly, of which number St. Luke maketh himself to have been one. If it had not

["Διελέγετο" in orig.]

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Verses 5, 6, 13.

[q] [Heylin, as quoted in the last note.]

been a matter of importance, St. Paul would not have continued his discourse until midnight. St. Paul's departure the next morning was a good reason of the prolonging of his discourse, but was no reason at all of the choice of the first day. That proceeded solely from the custom of the Church to assemble upon that day.

To draw nearer yet to the spring's head, or the source of the Lord's Day. In the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles the descent of the Holy Ghost is described. "And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place." That the day of Pentecost fell that year upon a Sunday, is undeniable; because the Resurrection of Christ was upon a Sunday, and Pentecost was the fiftieth day from the Resurrection. "*Occiditur Agnus, celebratur Pascha,*" &c.—the Paschal Lamb was slain, the Passover was celebrated; and fifty days after, the Law was given, written by the Finger of God. The true Paschal Lamb was slain, the true Passover was celebrated; and fifty days after, the Holy Ghost was given, which was the Finger of God[r]. "They were all;"—what "all?" all the Apostles? no, all the disciples, all those hundred and twenty, whereof we read Acts i. 15. So much the apology of St. Peter, as the speaker for the Apostolical college, doth testify, Acts ii. 14; distinguishing the persons inspired from the Apostles,—"These are not drunken, as ye suppose." So much the prophecy of Joel doth insinuate, under the notion of "sons and daughters," and "servants and handmaids." So much St. Chrysostom saith expressly upon the same text[s]. "In one place;"—what place? even "*cœnaculum Sionis*"—that "upper room upon the top of mount Sion," where Christ kept His last Passover, instituted the Lord's Supper, appeared to His disciples the door being shut, ordained His Apostles; wherein Matthias was chosen; wherein the Holy Ghost descended in the likeness of cloven tongues of fire,—cloven, to note discretion, of

[Acts ii. 1.]

[Acts ii. 15.]

[Joel ii. 28, 29.—Acts ii. 17, 18.]

[Mark xiv. 15: Luke xxii. 12.—John xxi. 19, 26.—Acts i. 13: ii. 1.]

[r] [Bede, Libell. de Offic., Op. tom. vii. p. 646. Compare August., Contra Faustam, lib. xxxii. c. 12. (Op. tom. viii. p. 456. C, D); and the spurious Quæst. Ex Nov. Testam. attributed to St. Augustin, Quæst. xcv. (Op. tom. iii. Append. p. 85. B—E.).]

[s] [S. Chrys., Hom. iv. in Act. Apost., Op. tom. iv. pp. 629. l. 44, 630. ll. 1, 2.—"Τί δαί; ἆρα ἐπὶ τοὺς δώδεκα μόνους ἦλθεν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς; οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἁπλῶς παρήγαγε τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ προφήτου ὁ Πέτρος λέγων," κ. τ. λ. And so also Hieron., Epitaph. Paulæ Matris, Op. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 674.]

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fire, to express devotion;—wherein the order of deacons was instituted; wherein the councils of the Apostles at Jerusalem were celebrated: that place, which was shaken miraculously upon the prayers of the Church, as an undoubted testimony of God's presence; that place, which was the first Christian Church upon earth[t]. So here we have another solemn assembly of Christians upon the Lord's Day, or the first day of the week, in a place consecrated by Christ Himself for holy actions, and that approved and authorized by the visible descent of the Holy Ghost: so as this day may truly be said to be sacred to the whole Trinity; to God the Father, as the first day of the Creation, wherein the most noble creatures, the heavens and the holy Angels were made, and which preserveth the memorial of the Creation as well as the seventh day; to God the Son, Whose resurrection upon this day was the new creation of the world; to God the Holy Ghost, Who on this day descended visibly upon the disciples, as if He should proclaim aloud, that He hallowed that day to Himself.

[Acts iv. 31.]

But it is objected, that all this honour given here to this day, was to the day of Pentecost, which fell accidentally that year upon the first day of the week[u]. First, if it were so, that doth but prove it to have been a double festival, wherein a weekly and an annual festival did meet together; in which case neither of them ought to be robbed of their just honour. Secondly, the law of the Jewish Pentecost was then utterly abrogated by the death of Christ, and could challenge no farther right but an honourable interment. If the Christian festival of Easter ought from thenceforward to have been generally kept upon Sunday, in memory of Christ's Resurrection, according to the custom of the Catholic Church, except only in case of Apostolical dispensation for prudential

[t] [For the tradition respecting the identity of "the upper-chamber" ("τὸ ὑπερῷον"—Acts i. 13), wherein all these events happened, see Pearson, Lectt. in Act. Apost., I. vi, vii, inter Op. Posthuma, pp. 30, 31. Lond. 1688; and Mede (Disc. concerning Churches, Introd., Works bk. ii. pp. 408—410. fol. 1664), from Bede (De Sanctis Locis, c. iii; Op. tom. iii. p. 489) and Nicephor. (H. E. viii. 30). Mede interprets also the "κατ' οἶκον" of Acts iii. 46; v. 42, of this same "upper-chamber," as distinguished from the Temple.]

[u] [Heylin, Hist. of Sabb., Pt. II. c. i. § 5. That the day of Pentecost did fall upon a Sunday in the year of our Lord's Crucifixion, would appear to be obvious from the Gospels; and see Baron., in an. 34. num. 239, and the authorities there quoted. A question however has been raised upon the subject, from the difficulty of fixing the right day of the Passover in that year to the Thursday or the Friday;—for which see Bellarmine, De Cultu Sanctor., lib. iii. c. 13 (Op. tom. i. pp. 2181—2186).]

reasons, then the feast of Pentecost ought also thenceforward to be observed upon Sunday. And then all this honour will fall, not accidentally but originally, upon Sunday, as the day of Christ's Resurrection. Thirdly, no contingence can derogate from the prescience and disposition of Almighty God, Who acteth all that is good, permitteth all that is evil, and disposeth all things, both good and evil. Nothing could
925 be more contingent than the sale of Joseph into Egypt, and the means of his advancement there; yet the whole success and series of it was ordered by the providence of God. [Gen. xlv. 5, 7; l. 20.]

That the true Paschal Lamb should be slain that very day, and that very hour, when the Jews kept their Passover, and that both Easter and Pentecost should fall out that year upon a Sunday, the day of Christ's Resurrection, might have much of contingency in it; yet the whole affair might be so ordered by the providence of God for the honour of Christ. The rarer that it was for Pentecost to fall upon a Sunday, the more honour it was to the Lord's Day, that it should fall out so just then, and three thousand souls be converted by the first Christian sermon upon that day. It is as easy to imagine, that a printer's box of letters should drop one by one into their distinct places, or that a ship at sea should steer itself against wind and tide in the midst of rocks and sands into the harbour without a pilot, as that all those intestine discords between Augustus, Antony, and young Pompey, of the East against the West, the sea against the land, should all be hushed up so on a sudden just before the birth of "the Prince of Peace;" and that all the machinations of the Jews, [Isai. ix. 6.] and the malice of the Scribes and Pharisees, and the treason of Judas, like so many poisons tempered together by a skilful physician, should produce such a saving remedy for mankind, even the Sacrifice of the true Paschal Lamb, in such an admirable order just at the time of the Jewish Passover; and that the descent of the Holy Ghost should fall out upon the day of Pentecost, when the Law was given; and that the new creation of the world by the Resurrection of Christ, and the new illumination of the world by the Holy Ghost, should fall out both upon the Lord's peculiar day, which from that very time forward was destinated to be the weekly festival of the Church; and so that day, which without doubt was the be-

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ginning of days, and, if the old tradition[v] said true, shall be the ending of days, should be consecrated to Him, Who is
Rev. i. 8. "the beginning and the ending, the first and the last;"—I say, it is not imaginable, how all this should come to pass in such a Divine order, but by the sovereign overruling providence of God: Who can determine the event without necessitating the agents; Who hath predetermined many things to be done without predetermining the doers of them, where the thing done is good, and yet the doing of it sinful; Whose Divine power and wisdom hath infinite ways to accomplish His purpose without doing violence to the nature of His creatures; Whose prescience is infallible, yet importeth no antecedent but a hypothetical necessity. Things are not therefore, because they are foreknown; but therefore they are foreknown, because they shall be[w]; yea, shall be infallibly in God's disposition, yet preserving the natures of free and contingent agents.

These are the most remarkable instances which we find in Holy Scripture of hallowing the Lord's Day. And these shew plainly, that our Church had good ground to say, that "immediately after the Ascension of Christ, Christian people began to choose them a standing day of the week to come together in[x]." It was "immediately" indeed after the Ascension, for we find a precedent within ten complete days. Neither is the word "choosing" inconsistent with that I say.
Deut. xxx. 19. A man may "choose" that which is commanded. "I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing, therefore

[v] [Compare the Sermon, in Pascha, formerly attributed to St. Augustine (Serm. clxvii. § 2. in Append. Op. tom. v. p. 292. D, E.) from which Bramhall (below p. 60. text to note n) has largely borrowed.—"Bene quoque Dominicus sermo ac Resurrectio Domini conjunguntur. Venerabilis est hic dies, qui Dominicus dies et dies primus atque perfectus est; et dies clarus, in quo visa est prima lux; in quo transgressi sunt filii Israel Mare Rubrum siccis pedibus; et in quo pluit manna filiis Israel in deserto; et quo Dominus Baptizatus est in Jordane: quo vinum de aquâ in Cana Galilææ factum est; quo benedixit Dominus quinque panes, quibus satiavit quinque millia hominum; in quo Resurrexit Dominus a morte; quo intravit Dominus in domos clausas, ubi erant discipuli congregati propter metum Judæorum; in quo Spiritus Sanctus descendit in Apostolos; et *in quo speramus Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum ad Judicium venturum: in quo die omnis creatura reformabitur in melius, ut sol et luna septuplum lumen accipiant, et sancti homines vitam æternam propter merita bonæ obedientiæ recipiant a Deo.*"]

[w] ["Non enim ex eo quod Deus scit futurum aliquid, idcirco futurum est; sed quia futurum est, Deus novit." Hieron., Comment. ad Hierem. c. xxvi; Op. tom. iii. p. 653. And see above in the Castig. of Mr. Hobbes' Animadv., Answ. to Fount of Arg. (vol. iv. p. 236), Disc. ii. Pt. iii.]

[x] Homily of Place and Time of Prayer, [Pt. i. p. 304. 8vo. Oxf. 1840.]

choose life." And, "*Choose* this day whom you will serve," &c.; "but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." Josh. xxiv. 15.

But yet we do not want some conspicuous marks to guide us higher, or at least to intimate thus much unto us, even before the Ascension of Christ: as, His Rising again from the dead upon this day, and His vouchsafing as upon this day to make His principal apparitions to His Apostles in their oratory or house of prayer, whilst they were secretly "assembled for fear of the Jews;" as, John xx. 19, when He ordained His Apostles, and John xx. 26, when He rooted infidelity out of the hearts of His disciples; both times upon the Lord's Day, both times in their house of prayer, both times when they were secretly assembled. There is something in all this. It deserveth to be observed, how all the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, do punctually and emphatically name "the first day of the week;" as if the Holy Ghost seemed to be delighted with this circumstance of the time or day which was designed for His own service. We do not find the like mention of any other day of the week, except the Sabbath, whilst it continued the Lord's holy day.

926 St. Matthew telleth us, that upon the very "dawning of the first day of the week" the two Maries had the early news of Christ's Resurrection, first from an Angel, then from Himself. St. Mark telleth us, both of His Resurrection "early the first day of the week," and of His early apparition to the women, particularly to Mary Magdalene, upon the same "first day of the week," and after to the two disciples travelling to Emmaus, and lastly to the eleven Apostles upon the self-same day. The very same is related by St. Luke with the same circumstance of "the first day of the week." St. John baulketh this circumstance no more than the rest; —"The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene;" and, "The same day at evening, being the first day of the week," &c. And yet in the same chapter he proceedeth yet to another apparition to the Apostles, "after eight days." As "after three days" signifieth the third day, so "after eight days" signifieth the eighth day inclusively, in the language of the Scripture. The Evangelist might as well have said 'the next Lord's Day,' or, 'the next first day of the week.' If any man shall think, that all these emphatical expressions of "the

[Passages in the Gospels.]

[Matt. xxviii. 1.—Mark xvi. 2,9.—Luke xxiv. 1.—John xx. 1, 19.]

Matt. xxviii. 1.

Mark xvi.9.

[Mark xvi. 2, 12, 14.]

[Luke xxiv.1,&c.]

John xx. 1, 19.

Verse 26.

Mark viii. 31.

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first day of the week," and of no other day of the week, until they end finally in a downright "Lord's Day," were altogether without design and signify nothing, I must crave leave to dissent from him.

That which some object[y] concerning the two disciples travelling to Emmaus, maketh nothing against what I say, because it was the day of the Resurrection, or "first day of the week;" but much for it. Neither are Christians obliged to such a strict rest upon the Lord's Day as the Jews were upon their Sabbath, much less to such a rest as the Pharisees had introduced, who would not allow a man to roast an apple or peel an onion or kill a flea upon the Sabbath[z], for fear of profaning it. Works of necessity, piety, and charity, even upon the Sabbath, did always carry with them a dispensation from Heaven; and upon the Lord's Day, in a greater latitude, with less cause of scruple. It might be those two disciples were employed by the Church in that doubtful time to the house of Cleophas which was in Emmaus; and so all these three favourable requisites, piety, necessity, and charity, might concur in that voyage. This we are sure of, their discourse was such as might well become those who were then sanctifying the Lord's Day; although they were not yet fully satisfied that Christ was risen again, until they received final satisfaction from Christ Himself. How should they be satisfied then more than the rest of the Apostles, who esteemed the words of the women that related it to be but "idle tales, and believed them not?"

Luke xxiv. 11.

Luke xxiv. 30, [35.]

Moreover we read in the same place, that "Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave unto them," and that "He was known of" those two disciples "in breaking of bread." I should be loth to conclude from hence for a half communion, with the Papist, because there is no mention in that text of the cup[a]; whereas they themselves do hold the wine as necessary to be offered as the bread, though not so necessary to be distributed as the bread[b] (though at other times they change their note, witness that of Bellarmine,—"The bread may be taken away if the cup be given[c]"). Yet

[y] [Heylin, Hist. of Sabb., Pt. II. c. i. § 4.]

[z] [See Buxtorf, Syn. Jud., c. xi. pp. 301, 305. 12mo. Hanov. 1604.]

[a] [Bellarm., De Sacram. Euchar., lib. iv. c. 24: Op. tom. ii. pp. 894. D, 895. A, B.]

[b] [Id., ibid., c. 25; ibid. p. 911. C.]

[c] [Id., ibid., c. 27; ibid. p. 925. C.—See above in the Answ. to La Millet. vol. i. p. 20), Disc. i. Pt. i.]

this doth not convince me, that it was not the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, synecdochically expressed; especially seeing I find the words to be exactly the same with those of St. Matthew, xxvi. 26, and of St. Mark, xiv. 22, and of St. Luke, xxii. 19, at the institution of the Sacrament; and find the same words repeated by St. Paul upon the same occasion, 1 Cor. xi. 23. Neither is this my private opinion; many Fathers and other ecclesiastical writers both ancient and modern have held the same[d]. For the present I will content myself with the testimonies of two Fathers. The one is St. Hierome, in his Epitaph of Paula:—"And renewing her journey she came to Nicopolis, which was formerly called Emmaus, where the Lord, being known by breaking of bread, did dedicate the house of Cleophas to be a church[e]." The other is St. Austin; who, having shewed that the impediment which hindered the two disciples from knowing of Christ, was from Satan, proceedeth thus,—"Christ gave leave until the Sacrament of Bread, that the unity of His body being partaken, the impediment of the enemy might be understood to be removed[f]." The "Sacrament of Bread," and the "participation" of "the unity of His body," can have no other reference but to the Holy Eucharist. I know some others assert, that this was not the Holy Eucharist itself, but a
927 figure of it[g]; which, to my purpose,—to shew that this was a holy action, proper for the Lord's Day,—is enough. So, in-

[d] [Bede, in loc. (lib. vi. c. 96; Op. tom. v. pp. 508, 509), who quotes the passage of S. Augustin given below in note f;—Theophylact, in loc. (Op. tom. i. p. 495. A. Venet. 1754);—Opus Imperf. in Matth., Hom. xvii. (in fin. tom. vi. Op. S. Chrysost. ed. Montfauc., p. lxxxviii. 1. E.);—Isychius, In Leviticum, lib. ii. c. 9. (Biblioth. PP. tom. xii. p. 87. H. ed. De la Bigne):—who are cited (with Jerome and S. Augustin as quoted in notes e, f, below) by Maldonati (in loc.), who adopts their interpretation; and by Bellarm., de Sacram. Euchar., lib. iv. c. 24; Op. tom. ii. p. 894. D, who gives this and the interpretation of Jansenius (see below in note g) without preferring either.—Hammond (in loc.) interprets the passage of the ordinary blessing of an ordinary meal; and Whitby refers to such passages as Matt. xiv. 19, Mark vi. 41; viii. 6, as instances of a similar expression where the Eucharist is not referred to.]

[e] [Hieron., Epitaph. Paulæ Matris, Op. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 673.—"Repetitoque itinere Nicopolim, quæ prius Emmaus vocabatur, apud quam in fractione panis cognitus Dominus, Cleophæ domum in ecclesiam dedicavit."]

[f] [S. August.,] De Consensu Evangel., lib. iii. c. 25. [§ 72; Op. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 142. A.—"Non autem incongruenter accipimus hoc impedimentum in oculis eorum a Satana fuisse, ne agnosceretur Jesus; sed tamen a Christo est facta permissio usque ad Sacramentum panis, ut unitate Corporis Ejus participatâ, removeri intelligatur impedimentum inimici, ut Christus possit agnosci."]

[g] [So Cornel. Jansenius (Comment. in Concord. Evang., p. 1070. b.), quoted by Bellarm. in the same place.]

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stead of an affront to the Lord's Day, we meet with a great honour to it;—[that[h]] Christ Himself did celebrate either the Holy Eucharist, or at least a figure of it, upon this day, being the very day of His Resurrection, the first Christian Sunday, or Lord's Day, that ever was, when "the Sun of Righteousness" did "arise" to enlighten the children of this world.

[Mal. iv. 2.]

[Conclusion.]

Out of what hath been said, it doth appear, that the Lord's Day was celebrated from the beginning, that is, from the Resurrection of Christ, in pursuance of His direction or example; and that without all doubt there was either an Apostolical precept for it, written or unwritten, or Apostolical practice, equivalent to a precept. What concerneth the Apostles, is altogether undoubted; what concerneth Christ, is piously presumed,—that when He appeared to His Apostles after His Resurrection, among His other instructions which He gave them, "in things pertaining to the Kingdom of God," He did give them a particular direction for the observation of this day, according to the testimony of St. Clement, a contemporary of the Apostles, formerly cited[i]. Howsoever, here is enough out of the Scripture itself, to prove the Divine right and the antiquity of the Lord's Day. And thus much may serve for the answer to the second question,—when the Lord's Day began to be observed as a weekly holyday.

Acts i. 3.

SECTION THE TWELFTH.

III. Why the weekly festival changed from Saturday.

The third question is, what were the grounds of the change of the Sabbath to the Lord's Day. Although the law of nature doth not prescribe the sanctifying of the seventh day, or first day, or any other day of the week in particular, yet the sanctifying of them was very agreeable to what the law of nature doth prescribe; and yet farther, hath a certain majesty and conformity in it, fit for the service of God; as if we should say, our God is one and the same God, therefore we worship Him at one and the same time, with one and the same worship. Those heathens who said, that as variety of instruments doth make the best music, so variety of worship is most

[h] ["But" in the folio edition, by an obvious misprint.]

[i] [Above p. 41. note r.]

acceptable to God, did not rightly understand or consider, either the all-sufficiency of God,—that our devotion can add nothing to Him,—or the manifold indigence of the human nature, which being daily variously exhausted, must daily be variously supplied. The Jewish Sabbath having continued so many ages in the Church, from the time of Moses until Christ, now both it, and all other their typical and ceremonial laws, were taken away by Christ, and declared to be utterly abrogated by His "*Consummatum est*"—"it is finished," upon the Cross: in sign whereof "the veil of the Temple [was[k]] rent from the top to the bottom," to shew, that the express image of those heavenly truths, which before had been but drawn in dark obscure colours and figures, was now perfectly exposed to the light. Thus much is expressly affirmed by St. Paul;—"Let no man judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of a holyday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ:" which manifest declaration of himself against the Jewish Sabbath, with some other places, did render the Ebionites so offended with St. Paul, that they did not only refuse to admit his writings, but also fathered manifest lies upon him; as, that "he was a Gentile both by father and mother;" that "being at Hierusalem, he turned a Jewish proselyte, in hope to have gained the High Priest's daughter to wife, but missing of his aim, he grew discontented, and writ passionately against circumcision, and the Sabbath, and the Law of Moses[l]." So then the legal observation of Saturday was ceased, according to St. Paul; although the first observation of it, as a day of gratitude to God, was permitted long after in the Church, for divers weighty reasons. The law of the Sabbath being abrogated, and the obligation thereof being ceased, after it had continued so many ages in the Church, it had been some disparagement to the Christian Church, either to have come short of the Jews in the performance of moral duties to God, or that every particular person or congregation should be left to his or their own election of the time of God's solemn worship, without either order or uniformity. And therefore the first day was presently, I had almost said immediately, upon

[John xix. 30.] [Matt. xxvii. 51.]

Col. ii. 16.

[k] ["Did" in the folio edition.]

[l] [Epiphan., Adv. Hær., lib. I. tom. ii. Hær. xxx. § 16; Op. tom. i. p. 140. D. ed. Petav.]

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or after the Resurrection of Christ, set apart for the public service of God. But why the first day, rather than any other day of the week? This day was the beginning of time, wherein the world began. What day more fit to be dedicated to God, than that which was the first fruits of time? [Exod. xiii. 2, 12, &c.] The first-born were designed as holy to the Lord. When [Luke i. 64.] Zachary's tongue was loosed, the first use he made of it, was to praise the Lord. "*A Jove principium*[m]." Upon this day 928 [Gen. i. 1—5.] the most noble creatures were made, the heaven, and the earth, and the immortal Angels, and the light; which God created as a mean between corporeal and incorporeal substances, that the atheist might see every day before his face a resemblance of the union between his soul and his body, in the union of the light with the air. The first day of the Creation doth preserve the memory of the Creation, as well as the day after the Creation. This was the day, which God adorned more than any other with the manifold dispensations of His grace. Upon this day the Israelites were supposed to have gained their liberty from their Egyptian bondage. Upon [Exod. xvi. 1, 22.] this day certainly manna was first rained down from heaven. Upon this day, Christ is said to have been born for us, and to have been baptized in Jordan; and the Star to have appeared [Matt. xxviii. 1.—Mark xvi. 2, 9.—Luke xxiv. 1, 13, 33, 34.—John xx. 1, 19, 26.—Acts ii. 1.] to the wise men. Upon this day, Christ arose again from the dead, and made His most frequent apparitions to His Apostles until His Ascension. Upon this day, He sent the Holy Ghost. And the primitive Christians had a tradition, that upon this day His second coming to judge both the quick and the dead should be[n]. So, both in gratitude and discretion, that the

[m] [Virg., Buc., iii. 60.]

[n] [See the passage quoted above in note v. p. 54; which was evidently Bramhall's authority for the text. And compare Pseudo-August., Serm. cclxxx; Op. tom. v. Append. p. 467;—Leon. Epist. ad Dioscorum, Epist. xi. c. 1; tom. i. p. 436. ed. Quesn.;—and Bp. Cosin, Serm. xii; Works vol. i. pp. 174, 175. Anglo-Cathol. ed. That the Israelites crossed the Red Sea on the first day of the week, seems proved by comparing Exod. xvi. 1, 13, 33 (whence it appears that the sixteenth day of the second month of the year of the Exode was the first day of the week), with Exod. xii. 17, 37, 51; xiii. 20; xiv. 2, 9, 22. and Numb. xxxiii. 3, 5—8 (which mark the day on which the passage of the Red Sea took place, as the eighteenth day of the first month of that year, and consequently—since the month Abib contained thirty days—also the first day of the week). See also the Quæstiones ex Nov. Test. as quoted above p. 51, note r; where the fourteenth day of the first month and the third day of the third month in the same year, being the first Passover and the first day of Pentecost, are calculated on the same data to have happened upon the fourth day of the week. For the day on which the manna first fell, which is more plainly marked, see above p. 42. note z. That the Nativity and Baptism of our Lord took place on the first day of the

Lord at His coming might find them employed about His service, no day could be fitter for the public worship of God than this. "Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord, when He cometh, shall find so doing." But all authors do agree, that the special ground of the translation of the day was the Resurrection of Christ, which was the new creation of the world. If the memory of the old creation, and God's resting upon the seventh day, had such an influence upon the first patriarchs, that it is piously believed by some, that they did freely without any commandment observe that day of rest, according to the example of God[o], why should not Christians hallow the day of Christ's Resurrection, in memory of man's Redemption, or the new creation, completed upon that day by Christ? And so much for the grounds of the translation.

Discourse I.

Matt. xxiv. 46.

SECTION THE THIRTEENTH.

The fourth question is, whether the Lord's Day may be changed by the authority of the Church from the first day to another day of the week. It is generally admitted, that one day hath no natural or inherent holiness in it more than another. Likewise, that it was never yet changed from Christ's time until this day by any Church, is generally confessed. Thirdly, that it may be changed *de facto*—in fact, without right, no man can doubt. They who did not stick to change their Bible into an Alcoran, would not stick at changing the Lord's Day. The Lord's Day is not more precious than the Lord Himself, Whose day it is; and they who allow no distinction of days as to relative holiness[p], will make

IV. Whether the Lord's Day may be changed.

week, rests upon the (not very strong) authority quoted at the beginning of this note, and upon a calculation founded apparently on the assumption that those events happened respectively upon Dec. 25. B. C. 1, and Jan. 6. A.D. 31, of the common Era (see Baron., in an. 31. numm. 17, 18;—Bellarm., De Cultu Sanctor., lib. iii. c. 11; Op. tom. i. p. 2173. D;—Tillemont, Mém. tom. i. Vie de N. Seigneur, art vi. and notes—besides Ussher, and the other Chronologists). It would be consistent with this supposition that Sunday should also be the day of the Resurrection (which is of course obvious from the Gospels), if that day were fixed to March 27. A.D. 34; but the whole subject, as a matter of calculation, is beset with difficulties. The appearance of the Star to the wise men would of course coincide with the day of our Lord's Nativity; and the Day of Pentecost would be a Sunday, if the day of the Resurrection were so.

Compare also, for the first sentence of the above, Bellarmine as just quoted p. 2174. A.—"Et præterea Dies Dominica representat etiam memoriam creationis mundi non minus quam Sabbathum. Nam die Dominico cœpit mundus fieri, immo eo die sunt factæ omnes partes mundi principales, cœlum, terra, Angeli, lux, &c."]

[o] [See above p. 25. note g.]

[p] [Viz. the Anabaptists. See above p. 9. note c.]

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no scruple at abrogating this holyday. But the question is, whether the Lord's Day, being taken *in sensu composito*—as it is the Lord's Day, with reference to the precept, or authoritative example, of Christ, or of His Apostles, or either of them, may yet be lawfully changed.

[Such a change unlawful.]

They who maintain the affirmative part—that it may be changed,—do it so coldly and so faintly, that they even teach their readers to doubt of the truth of their assertion[q]. "*Qui timidè rogat, docet negare*[r]." For they acknowledge, that it were a "temerarious," or an "uncomely" or "unhandsome," act, to make such a change[s]; which implieth, that there must be something in such a change inconsistent with, or dissentaneous from, the principles of reason or religion. As for myself, besides the odious brand of desultorious levity, I hold, upon my former grounds, that such a change were not only "unhandsome" and "temerarious," but altogether unlawful.

[1. No sufficient authority.]

My reasons are three. The first is taken from the defect of sufficient authority, to abrogate that which hath been instituted either by Christ or by His Apostles, whether it were by express precept or by authoritative example. Every thing ought to be loosed by the same authority by which it was bound, or by a superior authority. Apostolical authority at least did bind the Church to observe this day, and less than Apostolical authority cannot loose the Church from the obligation to observe this day. I readily acknowledge, that the Apostles made some local and temporary ordinances[t]; but those did never bind without that place for which they were made, nor beyond that time for which they were designed. Moreover, sometimes the reason or ground of a temporary ordinance doth cease. In such case, it is not the authority of the present Church, which abrogateth an Apostolical ordinance; but the law expireth of itself, when it is become impeditive of 929
greater good. But the ordinance of the Lord's Day is quite of another nature. First, it is an universal ordinance; as appear-

[q] [This is true of several among those whom Heylin (Hist. of Sabb., Pt. ii. c. vi.) mentions. But it certainly is not the case with Calvin (see above p. 10. note e), or Tindal (above p. 10. note d); nor indeed was it the general tone of the doctrine held upon the subject, whether among Reformers or Schoolmen, during the 16th century. See the quotations in Heylin, ibid.]

[r] [Senec., Hippol., 591, 592.]

[s] ["Nimis indecorum esset," according to Covarruvias, Variar. Resolut., lib. IV. c. xix. § 7 (Op. tom. i. p. 450. b. Lugd. 1606); quoted by Dr. Bound.]

[t] [See for instance Ironside, Seven Questions of the Sabbath, c. xix. p. 179.]

eth by the universal tradition of the whole Christian world. Secondly, it is a perpetual ordinance; as appeareth by the perpetual observation of it in all ages without exception. DISCOURSE I.

A second reason is taken from the ground of this ordinance; that is, the Resurrection of Christ, and all those other graces which He dispensed to us upon this day. Put all the considerations which this world can possibly afford into the other scale, and they are not sufficient to counterbalance these. The creation of the world was a very sufficient ground for the observation of the seventh-day's festival by all mankind, if God had been pleased to enjoin it. So the redemption or new creation of the world [by] the Resurrection of Christ, is a sufficient ground to Christians for celebrating the Lord's Day as a memorial thereof. And as the Jewish Sabbath was to endure as long as the Jewish polity and religion did endure, so the Lord's Day ought to endure as long as Christian religion, that is, until the second coming of Christ. Until then we are to expect no new laws, no new revelations, no new grounds. And then all temporary Sabbaths and Lord's Days shall cease, and the Saints shall celebrate one perpetual Lord's Day with Christ in Heaven. [2. The ground of the ordinance prohibits a change.]

The third reason may be taken from the perpetuity of the duty of the Lord's Day; which shall never cease whilst this world continueth. As the celebrating of the Sabbath was to the Jews a sign between God and them, testifying, that God, Who made heaven and earth, was their God, so the celebration of the Lord's Day to Christians is a profession, that the Lord, Who rose again upon that day, and triumphed over Hell and death and the grave, is their Lord. When the duty of Christians to this Lord doth cease, when they may lawfully change Him for another Lord, then the Lord's Day may cease; until then it is immutable. I will conclude this point with the words of Athanasius;—"He commanded not the observation of the Sabbath" (or Saturday) "to the new creature" (that is, to a Christian); "that he might acknowledge a beginning in the Lord's Day, but nevertheless interminable, and that he might hold for certain that the grace of it should never cease[u]." 3. [The perpetuity of the duty prohibits a change.] [Ezek. xx. 12.]

[u] De Sabb. et Circumcis., [tom. ii. p. 55. C. ed. Bened.—"Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐδόθη τὸ Σάββατον τῷ προτέρῳ λαῷ, ἵνα γινώσκῃ καὶ τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς

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SECTION THE FOURTEENTH.

V. Of the manner of sanctifying the Lord's Day.

The last question is, what is the right manner of sanctifying the Lord's Day: in discussing whereof,—that we may not be like blunderers, who do commonly confound respective truths with absolute and necessary truths, and if they find something in the Lord's Day which is of Divine right, they conclude presently that all things pertaining to the celebration of that day are of Divine right, and if they find something in it which is of human right, they conclude that the day itself hath no right but human,—it is necessary to distinguish the rights of the Lord's Day by the law of nature, by the evangelical law, by the positive law of God, and by human law, either ecclesiastical or civil; for every one of these laws have some influence upon the Lord's Day.

[1. According to the law of nature.]

First, for the law of nature. That which the evangelical law determineth for the first day, the law of nature prescribeth indeterminately for some time to be hallowed or set apart for the service of God. So he who profaneth this day, doth transgress both the law of the Gospel and the law of nature.

Secondly, the law of nature requireth, that the time set apart for the service of God be sufficient for the solemn performance thereof, without hasting and huddling [it] up; like a dog upon the banks of Nilus which laps and runs at the same time[x]: as if God Almighty would be content with any thing, "either with a grape or with a bean[y]," which was Cain's error. "*Ante focum, si frigus erit; si messis, in umbrâ*[z]." But that the same proportion of time is always necessary, or always sufficient, or ought always to be employed equally in the same office, I find nothing in the law of nature. One time and one condition may require more devotion than another; and different kinds of devotion as well as different degrees, as more prayer, or more thanksgiving, or more

[Gen. iv. 3. —Jude 11.]

κτίσεως. Τῇ δὲ καινῇ κτίσει οὐκ ἐνετείλατο φυλάττειν Σάββατον· ἵνα τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ Κυριακῇ γινώσκῃ, ἀτελεύτητον δὲ ἐπίσταται τὴν ταύτης χάριν." Bramhall's translation is from the Latin, which in its rendering of the last clause is not quite literal; and the original (as it is given here from the Benedictine edition) seems either defective or corrupt. However the sense is obviously that given above.]

[x] [Scil. for fear of the crocodiles, according to Pliny, Nat. Hist., viii. 61.]

[y] ["Vel uvâ vel fabâ."]

[z] [Virg., Buc., v. 70.]

humiliation, or more instruction, or more adoration, or more sacraments, according to the various exigencies of times and places and persons. DISCOURSE I.

Thirdly, the law of nature doth dictate, that the duties of
930 the Lord's Day ought to be performed with such gravity, decency, majesty, and solemnity, as is fit for the great God of Heaven and earth. "The house which I build is great, for great is our God above all Gods." And agreeably to the condition of the times and quality of the persons. Those ornaments which are necessary for the service of God in a great Cathedral in times of peace and plenty, are not convenient for a rural oratory, or in times of want and indigence. "Wisdom is justified of her children." Upon this consideration the most of our ceremonies do depend. 2 Chron. ii. 5. [Luke vii. 35.]

Fourthly, the law of nature doth dictate, that at some times, when we are more sensible of God's blessings, we ought to offer up part of that which He hath given us, to His own service, or to supply the necessities of our brethren for His sake; as we see in the practice of Cain and Abel from the beginning. I know not how this custom of free oblations came to be almost lost in our Church in point of practice, since I do not remember any thing material that hath been observed against it. So likewise the law of nature doth teach us, that God is to be adored,—"Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve:"—and to me it seemeth very strange, that a man may frequent some churches that boast of the name of Reformed, and yet hardly find any one act of adoration in the public service of God; as if either the erroneous adoration of the creatures had frighted us from the necessary adoration of the true God, or as if God did not require corporeal adoration as well as spiritual. [Gen. iv. 3, 4.] [Matt. iv. 10.—Luke iv. 8.]

So, from the law of nature, I pass over to the evangelical law, grounded upon the precept or authoritative example, either of Christ our Saviour, or of His Apostles, or one or both of them, and so received and believed by the Catholic Church. Now the main influence which the evangelical law hath upon the Lord's Day, is double. First, to appoint this day for a weekly festival throughout the Church of Christ; which honour Saturday or the seventh day had obtained for- [2. According to the evangelical law.]

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merly in the Jewish Church. Secondly, to point out the proper offices and duties of this day, being generally and indefinitely considered, according to the example or practice of Christ or His Apostles upon the first day of the week recorded in Holy Scripture; that is, prayers and thanksgivings and sermons and Sacraments and works of piety and charity. Thus far as to the appointment of the day, and the duties of it in general. The first day of the week, or the Lord's Day, is of evangelical, that is, Divine right. But for the circumstances of the time and place and ceremonies and forms, the Gospel hath ordered little or nothing. These depend upon the law of nature (which implieth Divine right as well as the ecclesiastical law, so far as the dictates thereof do go), and the ecclesiastical laws of the Church, and the civil laws of the commonwealth: which two last sort of laws, being capable of enlargement and contradiction, of dispensation and abrogation, may make that act upon the Lord's Day to be necessary, or lawful, or unlawful respectively, in one time, or at one place, which is not so necessary, or lawful, or unlawful respectively, in another time, or at another place. The best ground that a devout Christian can go upon, to know what the law of nature and the evangelical law do prescribe as necessary for the right observation of the Lord's Day, is the practice of the primitive uncorrupted Church, and the examples of devout and discreet Christians. Now after what manner the primitive Christians did celebrate the Lord's Day, we cannot have a better witness than Justin Martyr[a]: namely, in assembling, and reading the Holy Scriptures, and preaching, and hearing, and meditating, and praying, and thanksgiving, &c., and charitable collections for the poor according to every man's ability, which the Bishop distributed to orphans and widows, &c.: which place of Justin Martyr may serve as an authentic exposition of St. Paul's collection for the Saints.

1 Cor. xvi. 1, [2.]

[3. According to the positive law of God.]

So, from the law of nature and the evangelical law, I pass to the positive laws of God, comprehended in the Old Testament, concerning the Sabbath. But for these I have declared myself sufficiently, that they bind no Christians farther than there is a natural equity in them (which is not their binding

[a] [See above p. 10, note o.]

but the law of nature's); or farther than they are authorized
931 by the Gospel; or, at most, beyond the exemplarity of them,
—that we who are Christians, should not come short of Jews, or any other religion, in performing those moral duties which we owe to God[b]. As for typical and ceremonial duties, they oblige not Christians at all, being neither imposed, nor intended ever to be imposed, upon them. Thus the great question of the Sabbath, which some have made the same use of that the ivy doth of the oak, to climb up by it themselves, falleth to the ground.

[4. According to human laws.]

Lastly, for human laws, either civil or ecclesiastical, which concern the Lord's Day, so far as they do not disagree with the evangelical law or the law of nature, they have power to bind the consciences of Christians, not from themselves, that is, from human authority, which hath no power over the conscience, but in themselves[c], that is, by virtue of the law of God, which commandeth "every soul" to "be subject to the higher powers." And howsoever the case is mistaken, the most of those controversies which we have about the Lord's Day, for the lawfulness or unlawfulness of this or that labour, or this or that recreation, do depend upon human law, which doth vary according to the divers exigencies of times and places. There is little to be found, either in the law of nature, or in the evangelical law, whereupon to ground the decision of such questions. But this is the humour of the times, to serve up every petty controversy to a fundamental point of religion, whereupon salvation and damnation doth depend.

[Rom. xiii. 1.]

[Conclusion.]

Thus we have seen this great controversy reduced to a very narrow compass:—that as the right of the day is Divine and unchangeable, so the manner of sanctifying it (excepting some uncontroverted generalities) is human and changeable; so as no change be made but by such as are rightly qualified to make it, and so as in the change nothing be taken away, which is commanded by the law of nature or the evangelical law, and on the other side, nothing be introduced, which is forbidden by the law of nature or the evangelical law.

[b] [See above in sect. vii. pp. 28, 29.]

[c] [See above in the Answer to La Millet. (vol. i. p. 62, note c), Disc. i. Pt. i.]

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SECTION THE FIFTEENTH.

Objections out of the Homilies considered.

And so you have my judgment of the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, clearly and distinctly, without either affection or animosity. Neither have I seen any thing objected against it, with any colour of reason, out of the doctrine or practice of the Church of England, but only that which is alleged out of our Homily of the Time and Place of Prayer: to which authority I for my part do readily submit, so far as I am bound by the thirty-fifth Article of our Church,—"The second tome of Homilies doth contain godly and healthful doctrine, and necessary for these times;" although I cannot see how this attestation, or indefinite assertion, doth either authorize or oblige me, or any genuine son of the Church of England, to defend every individual expression, or mistaken deduction, which may be contained in that whole tome. Yet I have no need to make use of that advantage; for, in very deed, the whole homily, being duly weighed, doth agree wholly and throughout with those conclusions, which I have laid down in this discourse.

[The Homily of the Place and Time of Prayer.]

The ends, why the words of this homily are urged, are two; first, to shew, that the Fourth Commandment of the Decalogue doth oblige all Christians to the observation and sanctification of the Lord's Day, not only equitably or exemplarily —because Christians ought not to come short of Jews in the performance of moral duties, which sense I have already admitted—but legally and preceptively. The right words of the homily (for they are variously cited[d]) are these;—"As concerning the time in which Almighty God hath appointed His people to assemble together solemnly, it doth appear by the Fourth Commandment of God; 'Remember,' saith God, 'that thou keep holy the Sabbath Day[e].'" And a little after, in the same homily;—"We must be careful to keep the Christian Sabbath Day, that is, the Sunday, not only for that it is God's express commandment, but also to declare our-

[d] [Bramhall is arguing principally against L'Estrange; who cites the Homily of the Place and Time of Prayer in three passages (pp. 107, 114, 130) and for the "ends" specified above, but except omissions, of no consequence (see e. g. note h. p. 71 below), with perfect accuracy. So also has Heylin (Hist. of Sabb., Pt. II. c. viii. § 5), quoting it with opposite views.]

[e] [Hom. of Place and Time of Prayer, p. 302 (8vo. Oxf. 1840).]

selves to be loving children," &c.; "thus it may plainly appear, that God's will and commandment was to have a solemn time and standing day in the week, wherein the people shall come together[f]." These phrases—"God's will, God's appointment, God's commandment, God's express commandment"—do seem to imply, not only an equitable, but a legal obligation.

I answer, let the words imply what they can, and let all be admitted which can possibly be inferred from them, yet they come as much short of that which ought to be proved, as there is distance between them and us in this controversy. The words of the Fourth Commandment may be considered
932 two ways: either as they are a part of the Mosaical Law and Jewish Decalogue, and in this sense it is undeniably true that they are abrogated,—at the Passion of Christ, when He cried, "It is finished." And accordingly that Apostolical College [John xxi. 30.] did acquit the Christian Gentiles for ever from all necessary obligation, not only to the words of the Fourth Commandment, but to the whole Mosaical Law. And in this sense Acts xv. 24. they are now no commandment of God to Christians. Or the words of the Fourth Commandment may be considered according to the moral and substantial part of them, that is, so far as, and no further than, they comprehend within them the express dictate of the law of nature, that some time is to be set apart as a time of rest for the solemn service of God; and in this sense, and so far and no further, the words of the Fourth Commandment are a law to Christians. The law of nature comprehended in the Fourth Commandment saith, thou shalt set apart a time of solemn rest for the public service of God. The evangelical law saith, this time shall be upon the first day of the week, and shall be spent in such and such holy exercise. The just laws of our lawful superiors, civil and ecclesiastical, do go yet further, as to the place and duration of time and manner of sanctification. He who shall neglect this duty at this time, in this place, after this manner, is not only a transgressor of human law, but of Divine law, of the evangelical law, and of the law of nature comprehended in the Fourth Commandment.

[f] [Ibid., p. 303; partly quoted by L'Estrange, p. 107. For "that is, the Sunday," the Homily reads, "which is the Sunday;" and for "shall come together." "should come together."]

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This clear and manifest sense of the words of the homily is set down expressly in the homily itself:—"Albeit this" (fourth) "Commandment of God doth not bind Christian people so straitly to observe and keep the utter" (external) "ceremonies of the Sabbath-day, as it was given to the Jews, as touching the forbearing of work and labour in time of great necessity, and as touching the precise keeping of the seventh day after the manner of the Jews; for we keep now the first day, which is the Sunday, and make that our Sabbath, that is, our day of rest, in honour of our Saviour Christ, Who as upon that day rose from death, conquering the same most triumphantly; yet, notwithstanding, whatsoever is found in the commandment appertaining to the law of nature, as a thing most godly, most just, and needful for the setting forth of God's glory, it ought to be retained and kept of all good Christian people[z]." Here needeth no gloss. Nothing can be more express than the homily itself;—[1.] that the Fourth Commandment "doth not bind Christians" over "straitly;" 2. not "to the external ceremonies of the Sabbath;" 3. not "as it was given to the Jews;" 4. not as to the rigorous part of it, to forbear all work; 5. not as to the time, the first day of the week being justly substituted by Christians for the seventh; 6. not as to the end, our end is to honour the resurrection of Christ; 7. and lastly, to speak once for all, the Fourth Commandment obligeth Christians no farther than that part of it which "appertaineth to the law of nature." Who ever yet denied, that it obligeth so far? All men acknowledge, that the law of nature is immutable, indispensable, inabrogable; except a few paradoxical innovators, who understand not what the law of nature is. Thus, in the place of an objection out of the homily, we have found a most singular firmament of our cause.

The second reason why this homily is cited, is to shew, that the whole Sabbath day of the twenty-four hours ought to be employed by Christians in the actual service of God, without any liberty of working, or recreating themselves, by virtue of this commandment. The very words alleged are these;—"Even so God hath given express charge to all men, that

[z] [Hom. of Place and Time of Prayer, Pt. i. pp. 302, 303. For "which is *the* Sunday," the homily reads "which is *our* Sunday."]

upon the Sabbath-day, which is now our Sunday, they should cease from all weekly and work-day labour, to the intent that like as God Himself wrought six days and rested the seventh and blessed and sanctified it, and consecrated it to quietness and rest from labour, even so" we, as "obedient people, should use the Sunday holily, and rest from common and daily business, and also, give" ourselves "wholly to heavenly exercises of God's true religion and service[h]." DISCOURSE I.

I answer, first, that still they halt upon the same sore. Christians are not obliged at all by the Fourth Commandment to any duty, as it is a Mosaical law, but as it comprehendeth a branch of the law of nature in it. Secondly, that this law of nature doth not extend itself expressly to any day, either natural or artificial, but only to a sufficient time. Whatsoever is more than this, proceedeth either from the evangelical law, or from human law. Thirdly, I answer, that this assertion which they would ground upon the homily, is diametrically opposite to the main scope of the homily: which declareth expressly, that the seventh day, or Sabbath-day of the Fourth Commandment, is quite taken away, and another day (that is, the first day) put in the place thereof; that the strict obligation to the external ceremonies of the Sabbath is quite ceased; and that the rigorous exaction of a corporal rest from all necessary works during the whole Lord's Day, especially after the solemn offices of the day are performed, is likewise ceased. And if from all works, much more the exaction of a rigorous rest from lawful recreations, which were ever esteemed an inferior part of the Sabbath's rest, and are no way incompatible with it, but when they become immoderate, and hinder the duties of the day. Fourthly, waving all these advantages, I answer, that it is one thing to "give ourselves wholly" to the service of God, which the homily requireth, or rather, which the law of nature requires —(that when we come to "draw water with joy out of the wells of salvation," we should leave all sordid thoughts, all vindictive and vagrant desires, behind us, as the serpent leaves her poison in her den, when she goes to the fountain);—and

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Isa xii. 3.

[h] [Ibid. p. 303. L'Estrange, p. 114, quotes the greater part of the passage, omitting the clauses from "to the intent that" to "daily business;" of which however he cites the last clause with the same object, in pp. 130, 131.]

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it is another thing, to oblige all Christians to spend the whole natural day in the solemn and actual worship of God, which no law of nature or nations[i], Divine or human, did ever require, and that by virtue of a Jewish law, which was long since abrogated. The homily saith nothing to this purpose; but describing the uttermost obligation of the law of nature, it concludeth thus,—"And therefore by this Commandment" (that is, by the moral part of this Commandment, which is a branch of the law of nature) "we ought to have a time, as one day in the week, wherein we ought to rest, yea, from our lawful and needful works[k]." The express dictate of the law of nature is a *sufficient* time, no more. "As one day in the week, is the author's instance; as consentaneous to the law of nature, not dictated expressly by the law of nature. If the law of nature had limited us expressly to one day in the week, it had been improperly said,—"as one day in the week,"—by way of single and voluntary instance. If the law of nature had prescribed one whole natural day, he should have said, 'during which,' or, 'throughout which we ought to rest,' not "*wherein* we ought to rest." It is needless to insist longer upon this subject, seeing the greatest champions of the adverse party do acknowledge[l], that the law of nature prescribeth no such thing as one whole day in the week.

Let us suppose, what we may never admit, that this Jewish law,—"Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath-day,"—had been an universal law given to all mankind, and that it had not been abrogated by the death of Christ; yet, being an affirmative precept, it binds *semper* but not *ad semper*[m]—always, but not to the actual exercise of our devotions at all times. If a man join devoutly with the Church in the public service of God, and tune and prepare himself beforehand for that one necessary work; and watch over himself the rest of

[i] ["Quod naturalis ratio inter omnes homines constituit, id apud omnes peræque custoditur, vocaturque JUS GENTIUM, quasi quo jure omnes gentes utuntur." Justin., Instit., lib. I. tit. ii. § 1. And see Grotius, De Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. I. c. i. § 11: and Puffendorf, de Jure Nat. et Gentium, lib. II. c. iii. § 23.]

[k] [Hom. of Place and Time of Prayer, Pt. i. p. 303.]

[l] [The Sabbatarians generally (e. g. Bound, Of the Sabbath, bk. ii. pp. 366-376; L'Estrange, God's Sabbath, &c., pp. 119, 120; and see Bp. White, Of the Sabbath, pp. 233-235) argued for a *literal* twenty-four hours' Sabbath, including the night as well as the day; but they rested their argument upon the Fourth Commandment, not upon the law of nature.]

[m] [Thom. Aquin., Summ. Theol., P. II. Qu. lxxi. art. 5.]

the day, that he do nothing unworthy of God's servant; and, lastly, if he have an implicit desire upon all opportunities to advance the glory of God, if he eat and drink and sleep and recreate himself moderately to this end, to enable himself to serve God the better, and so do incorporate and interweave such religious thoughts and ejaculations, amongst his natural, moral, and even secular employments (so they be lawful and needful, not servile, mercenary, or sordid); he makes his common actions to become works of piety, and fit exercises even for holy-days.

So the homily and I agree throughout. The homily denieth not the Lord's Day the name of Sabbath; no more do I. The homily finds no law of the Sabbath in Gen. ii. 3; no more do I. The homily finds no seventh day's Sabbath before Moses his time; neither do I. The homily gives no power to the Fourth Commandment, as it was given to the Jews, to oblige Christians, but only as it was, and so far as it was, a law of nature; the same do I. The homily makes the first day of the week to signify the Lord's Day; so do I. The homily makes the end of changing the weekly festival of the Church to have been in honour of Christ's Resurrection; the like do I. Lastly, the homily derives the Lord's Day down from the Ascension of Christ immediately; the same do I.

To conclude, he who halloweth the Lord's Day as the weekly festival of Christians, doing such duties upon it as Christ
934 and His Apostles did, which are recorded for our imitation, and imitating the example of devout and discreet Christians in the observation of it, such as lived in all ages, before these controversies were raised, and swerving not from the just laws of the Church and commonwealth where he liveth, hath done whatsoever is requisite to be done by a good Christian upon this day. But if any man will fly higher, above this pattern and this rule, out of free devotion, without either Jewish or superstitious fancies, or seeking to obtrude his own principles or practice upon others as necessary to be followed, I do not blame him; he inclineth to the safer extreme.

SECTION THE SIXTEENTH.

The conclusion concerning

Christian reader, when I first handled this controversy, I knew nothing at all of the present occasion of it, neither did

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I dream that any of my friends were engaged in it. Since, I find, that my learned and most reverend Metropolitan is concerned indirectly in it, I mean the late Lord Primate of Armagh; under whose pious and moderate government I lived sundry years a Bishop in the Province of Ulster, whilst the political part of the care of that Church did lie heavy upon my shoulders. I praise God, we were like the candles in the Levitical Temple, looking one towards another, and all towards the stem. We had no contention among us, but who should hate contention most, and pursue the peace of the Church with swiftest paces. And if the high-soaring counsels of some short-winged Christians, whose eyes regarded nothing but the present prey, with the rebellious practices of the Irish enemy, tied together like Sampson's foxes with firebrands at their tails, had not thrust us away from the stern, and chased us from our sees with Bellona's bloody whip, we might before this time, without either persecution or noise, have given a more welcome and comfortable account of the Irish Church, than I fear one age is likely to produce. And if that pious prelate were now living, I verily believe he would allow all, or at least not disapprove any thing, which I say in this treatise.

my Lord Primate.

[Judg. xv. 4.]

Very lately, since it was finished, I received a book out of England, called "The Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh," among other things, about "the Sabbath and the observation of the Lord's Day," published out of the Primate's own papers by my ancient friend Dean Bernard, out of a pious intention (according to the dictates of his own reason) to have suppressed some spreading controversies by the interposition of my Lord Primate's authority[n]. If I had been present, I should have dissuaded him from it, out of these prudential considerations.

[n] ["The Judgment of the Late Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland, 1. Of the Extent of Christ's death, and satisfaction, &c. 2. Of the Sabbath, and observation of the Lord's day. 3. Of the Ordination in other reformed Churches. With a Vindication of him from a pretended Change of Opinion in the first; some Advertisements upon the latter; And, in prevention of further injuries, a Declaration of his judgement in several other subjects. By N. Bernard, D.D. and Preacher to the Honourable Society of Grayes Inne, London." 8vo. Lond. 1657, and a second edition in 1658.—published with the view of "moderating the heat which" had "lately broken out about some of" the points therein handled, by the authority of Ussher's judgment (Advertisement to the Reader, in fin.).]

First, my Lord Primate is dead[o], in the honourable esteem of all honest men both for his learning and piety. And, on the one side, as it is an uncomely thing for any man, who rests unsatisfied with what is urged as his judgment, to contend with a person of his eminency after his death (which should make friends wary in publishing posthumous works—he who is secured from taking blows, ought not to give blows); so, on the other side, it is an exposing of his justly-acquired honour to the hazard of a diminution. We see the Church of Rome are "wiser in their generation;" who do [Luke xvi. 8.] not bring forth the relics of their most esteemed Saints in a public procession, to obtain rain, or fair weather, or peace, or the like blessing, until they see a great probability of it, and some evident propension in the heavens or in the counsels of men to the granting of their desires. If there had been a moral certainty, that my Lord Primate's authority thus delivered would have proved like the dictates of Pythagoras among his scholars, an infallible means to procure an universal submission, I should have approved this act as prudential; but I find no such certainty, nor so much as any probability of it.

For, in the second place, who will give any great regard to pieces of letters[p], where they cannot view the coherence, nor compare that which is alleged with the antecedents and consequents? I have known an objection urged for a conclusion, and that which was spoken in the person of another mistaken for the author's own judgment. But suppose here were no fragments, but entire letters or discourses (as I do not doubt but they are, where they are published for such), yet men do not use to weigh their words so exactly in private

[o] [Ussher died March 20, 1655-6.]

[p] [The part of Dean Bernard's book relating to the Sabbath question consists of, 1. "A Learned Letter of the late Archbishop of Armagh to Dr. Twisse, concerning the Sabbath, and Observation of the Lord's Day," written in April or May 1640 (pp. 73-99); —also among Ussher's Letters published by Dr. Parr (fol. Lond. 1686), num. ccv;—2. Dr. Twisse's Answer (pp. 100-104); 3. "A Clause in a Letter of the Primate's, to Mr. Ley, of the Sabbath" (pp. 105-107); 4. "Part of a Letter of the Primate's, to an Honourable Person, not long after the coming forth of Dr. Heylin's book, of the History of the Sabbath, which I found wrote in the same Paper with the former," respecting the Irish Articles (pp. 108-112); 5. "A Confirmation of the latter clause in this Letter of the Primate's, &c., that the Articles of Ireland (determining the observation of the Lord's Day) were not called in An. 1634, as Dr. Heylin hath affirmed," written by Bernard himself (pp. 113-122).]

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letters as in those treatises which they design for the press; and yet further, in private letters, which are not intended for public view, men take a great liberty to comply with those to whom they write; especially they whose natures are averse from personal altercations, as my Lord Primate was, 935
where he did not apprehend himself to have been much provoked. There is neither obligation nor discretion, for a man always to publish his mind in a private letter.

Thirdly, here are divers things published, which I am confident my Lord Primate would not have had published; as (to omit those needless exasperations of Dr. Heylin[q]), that twitch, which is given to the learned and judicious Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Andrewes[r], second to no man, if he had an equal in this last age, without any great reason; and that affront done to Dr. White the reverend Bishop of Ely[s]; and that undeserved check given to Mr. Mede[t]. That the immediate seventh day before the Sabbath appointed by God upon the fall of manna, was not observed as a Sabbath (as it ought to have been, if they observed any Sabbaths before that time), is very demonstrable out of the Holy Scripture.

Fourthly and lastly, I find several glances in this book in sundry places against late "innovations[u]," as if the Bishops and their parties had brought in some great innovations. In the Name of God, what are they? Is "bowing at the name of Jesus" an "innovation?" because my Lord Primate,

[q] [Judgm. of Abp. of Armagh, Letter to Dr. Twisse, p. 79 &c.: and see § 4, 5. of the last note.]

[r] [Ibid.] p. 135. [respecting the question between Abp. Bancroft and Bp. Andrewes, whether those who were to be consecrated to Scotch Bishoprics in 1609, must not "first be ordained Presbyters, as having received no ordination from a Bishop." The allusion is not Ussher's, but Bernard's, in his "Animadvertisements" upon Ussher's letter to himself respecting "the ordination of the ministry in France and Holland."]

[s] [Ibid.] p. 98. [Letter to Dr. Twisse, in fin. Ussher cavils, very needlessly, at a translation by Bp. White (Of the Sabbath, p. 219) of a passage in S. Gregory the Great.]

[t] [Ibid.] p. 78. [Letter to Dr. Twisse. —"For that then," viz. at the Exode, "the observation began, or that the Israelites were brought out of Egypt or the Egyptians drowned on the Sabbath, I suppose our good friend Mr. Meade will not be able to evince, either out of Deut. v. 15, or out of any other Scripture whatsoever:" with a reference in the margin to Deut. xvi. 12. 7. See above p. 60. note n. The reference is to Mede's Sermon on Ezek. xx. 20 (Works, Bk. I. Disc. xv. p. 75); which had been published in 1642 with other sermons and tracts under the title of Diatribæ, or Discourses on Divers Texts of Scripture, p. 241.]

[u] [Ibid., p. 146, in "The Primate's Judgment of Several Subjects,"—a kind of miscellaneous chapter at the end of the volume, and in The Character of Bp. Bedell (see below p. 81. note o), p. 351.]

"though he did not censure it," yet "withstood the putting of it into the canons" of Ireland[x]. A strange innovation indeed, which is as ancient as the Gospel; and so universal, that all the Churches of the world, East, West, North, and South, do practise it, except three or four petty Churches of late days[y]. Neither do those few oppose it, but acknowledge it to be "a pious civility[z]." The eighteenth canon of our Church doth prove it to be no innovation; which establisheth it upon two great grounds, reason and custom[a]. Or is the innocent name of an Altar, which all the primitive Church used without any scruple, or the placing it at the east end of the quire, or the bowing towards the East when we enter into the quire[b], an "innovation?" It is just such another innovation, for antiquity and universality[c]: such an innovation, as my Lord Primate himself was bound to observe by the ancient statute of that Cathedral Church in Ireland[d], whereof he was a member before he was either Archbishop or Bishop; and, I believe, by his solemn oath also. They who accuse us of innovations, may do well to be sparing for their own sakes: lest they get such an account as is not answerable but by the sword; as Alexander undid the Gordian knot. We are no innovators; but they who accuse us of innovations, are both innovators and veterators.

DISCOURSE 1.

But supposing every thing contained in this book had been the certain and deliberate judgment of my Lord Pri- [1. Respecting the Sabbath and Lord's Day.]

[x] [Ibid.] p. [147. The 7th of the Irish, which corresponds to the 18th of the English, canons, directs merely the use of "all such reverent gestures and actions as by the Book of Common Prayer are prescribed" in Divine service, and as "the commendable use of the Church hath received"; omitting the direction in the English canon respecting "bowing at the name of Jesus."]

[y] [See Mede's Discourses upon Ps. cxxxii. 7; Works, pp. 504-506; and Durell's View of the Reformed Churches, pp. 34, 267. Lond. 1662.]

[z] [See the quotations from Peter Martyr, and Zanchy, in Bingham, French Church's Apology, bk. IV. c. viii.]

[a] ["Likewise, when in time of Divine Service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, *as it hath been accustomed;* testifying by these outward ceremonies and gestures, *their inward humility, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgment that the Lord Jesus Christ, the true eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the world.*" Can. 1603, can. xviii. The same direction is given in Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions in 1559; and see Hooker, E. P., V. xxx. 3.]

[b] [See The Character of Bp. Bedell as quoted below (p. 81. note o), p. 351.]

[c] [See Mede's Discourse of the name Altar or Θυσιαστήριον, anciently given to the Holy Table (Works, pp. 486-499), and his Discourse on Ps. cxxxii. 7, before quoted; and Bingham, Orig. Eccl., bk. VIII. c. vi. § 12, c. x. § 7.]

[d] [Ussher was Chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin, from 1607 until his consecration to the see of Meath in 1621: see Mason's Account of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Append., p. lxxii.]

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mate, I see but three things throughout it which have any shew of a material difference between him and me in this question.

The first is contained in a letter to Dr. Twisse[e]:—"And the text, Gen. ii. 3. (as you well note) is so clear for the ancient institution of the Sabbath, and so fully vindicated by Dr. Rivet from the exceptions of Gomarus[f], that I see no reason in the earth why any man should make doubt thereof." First, I apprehend these words to be at first none of my Lord Primate's, but Dr. Twisse's words in a former letter, only repeated by my Lord Primate and allowed. This appeareth evidently by the parenthesis—"(as you well note),"—which *may be* referred to the whole sentence, but must be referred to some part of it. Howsoever, if these words were all my Lord Primate's, yet here is no contradiction between him and me. He seeth no reason to doubt on the one side, and others "see no reason in the earth" to doubt on the other side. Neither part define any thing, neither part deliver their own votes. There is but a dumb shew of a contradiction at the most. And though we did both declare ourselves positively and contradictorily, yet it is nothing to the present controversy about the Lord's Day. If Gen. ii. 3. were a law for the seventh day then, I am certain it is no law for the first day now. Whether there be cause of doubting, let the reader judge by what I have said formerly in this treatise upon this subject[g]; to which much more might be added, if it were needful.

The second and third appearances of difference between my Lord Primate and me are contained in the clause of a letter to Mr. Ley[h], in these words,—"For my own part, I never yet doubted, but took it for granted, that as the setting of some whole day apart for God's solemn worship was *juris Divini naturalis*, so, that this solemn day should be one in seven, was *juris Divini positivi*, recorded in the Fourth Commandment; and such a *jus Divinum positivum* here I mean,

[e] [Judgm. of Abp. of Armagh,] p. 78.

[f] [In his Prælect. in cap. xx. Exodi, pp. 172, 173 (4to. Lugd. Bat. 1362), and in a special "Dissertatio de Origine Sabbati (8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1633), in answer to Gomarus, Investigatio Sententiæ et Originis Sabbati, c. iv. (§ 4-7, pp. 101-104. 8vo. Groning. 1361), and Defensio Investig. Orig. Sabb. (8vo. Groning. 1632).]

[g] [Above, sect. vi. pp. 19-21.]

[h] [Judgm. of Abp. of Armagh,] p. 105.

936 as Baptism and the Lord's Supper are established by; both which lie not in the power of any man or Angel to change or alter." When the commission for knighting many[i] came forth, a friend of mine, a commissioner, shewed me a clause in the statute which brought me within the compass of the law, but at the same time he held his thumb over another clause, which acquitted me. No man is obliged to answer to single clauses, when there may be another clause concealed, which would explain or answer that which is alleged. It is not material whether we doubt or doubt not, but certainly there is great cause to doubt, of the truth of this proposition,—that the law of nature doth dictate the setting out of a whole day to God's solemn service. Change a whole day into a sufficient time, and there is no doubt at all. Neither is it material at all, what a disputant taketh for granted, but what he can prove, or the defendant will grant. I dare say no learned adversary will grant any such thing. But grant or not grant it, if we distinguish the law of nature as we ought, and as it is already done in this treatise[k], there is no difference at all between my Lord Primate and me in this point. The law of nature is sometimes taken properly and strictly, for the principles of moral honesty dictated expressly to all intellectual creatures by natural reason; and in this sense, the setting out a sufficient time for God's solemn worship is '*juris Divini naturalis*,' a principle of [the] law of nature, but so is not the setting out a whole day for God's solemn worship. At other times the law of nature is taken more largely, so as to comprehend not only such express principles of moral honesty as nature dictateth to all intellectual creatures, but also such conclusions as are consentaneous and agreeable to those principles; and in this sense it is true, that the setting apart a whole day for God's worship is '*juris Divini naturalis*,' or dictated by reason to all intellectual creatures to be agreeable and consentaneous to the principles of moral honesty. The law of nature doth prescribe, that a sufficient time be set apart for God's service;

[i] [By a statute of Edward II. all persons worth £20. a-year were bound to be made knights; and in 1630, as a means of raising money, Charles I. issued a commission to compound with such as had neglected to comply with this (long obsolete) statute, substituting however £40. for £20. The statute was repealed in 1641. See Rushw., vol. ii. p. 70;—Rapin, vol. ii. bk. xix. p. 286.]

[k] [Above, p. 14.]

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and whatsoever time be set apart, more or less, so it be sufficient, it is agreeable to this law, and made in pursuance of it. So this contradiction is vanished.

The third difference hath less ground than the second: for I myself do readily acknowledge, that the setting apart one day in seven for the solemn worship of God was '*juris Divini positivi*,' a branch of Divine law, and that this law was not changeable by "man or Angel;" which is all that my Lord Primate saith. But it was both changeable and actually changed by the same Divine authority that first gave it. And though it was changed from one seventh day to another, yet this was not by virtue of the Fourth Commandment, an old Mosaical law, which (so far as it was Mosaical) is abrogated, but by virtue of a new evangelical law; as hath been declared.

[2. Respecting the Irish Articles.]

It is true[1], that in the first Convocation after the Earl of Strafford's coming to the Sword in Ireland, the question was calmly debated in the House of the Bishops concerning the English and Irish Articles, whether of them were fitter in point of uncontroverted truth, and unity, and uniformity, and prudential compliance with tender consciences, to be imposed upon the Irish clergy. This was done before it was once moved in the House of the Clerks[m]. All which, being acted in another assembly, might well be unknown to the Dean. Neither was it first proposed by my Lord Primate, but in truth opposed by him; and with him joined Dr. Martin,

[1] [A tolerably complete account of the Irish Convocation of 1634 may be found in Mant's Hist. of the Irish Church, Pt. I. c. vii. § 5; but a truer idea of the real history of the proceedings will be gathered from Mant's authorities, viz. Strafford's Letters, i. 298, 342-344, and Vesey's Life of Bramhall. See also above in vol. i. pp. vii, xix, xxxvi. Heylin, in his Hist. of the Sabbath, Pt. II. c. viii. § 9. (published in 1636), and repeatedly in his later publications (see e. g. his detailed account of the Irish Convocation of 1634 in his Life of Laud, Pt. ii. pp. 271-274), asserted that the Irish Articles were actually "called in" in 1634; an assertion angrily but ineffectually impugned by Bernard. No doubt, both Laud, and Strafford, and Bramhall, intended this to be *the result* of the act of Convocation, although the thing actually proposed (as we learn from Strafford himself—Straff. Letters, i. 329.) was simply that they should neither be "affirmed nor denied," that so they might be in time quietly suspended: as by the aid of the Rebellion of 1641 was actually the case.]

[m] [The 1st. of the Irish Canons, declaring the adoption by the Irish Church of the English Articles, was framed in the first instance by Ussher, but rewritten by Strafford himself, and carried in the Upper House of Convocation by an exertion of the full weight of his authority. It was afterwards carried in the Lower House with but one dissentient, Strafford's vigorous proceedings having stifled the obnoxious discussions which had opened the session. See Mant and Strafford's Letters before quoted.]

Bishop of Meath[n], not out of any disaffection in either of them to the English Articles, as I judge, but out of love to the Irish: the truth or untruth whereof were not so much as questioned then, but the authority,—whether of them should be acknowledged for the future to be the Articles of the Church of Ireland, and the public standard and seal of our Irish doctrine. There were no thoughts of two distinct standards at that time. And if any Bishop had been known to have required any man to subscribe to the Irish Articles, after the English were received and authorized under the great seal of Ireland, he would have been called to an account for it[o]. I do not remember any more but two, that spake in favour of the Irish Articles at that time. If there were any, they were very few, and did it very faintly. As for Dr. Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore[p], I did not take him to be so much a friend to the Irish Articles: though he did use
937 them, and must have used them, at that time when the Dean saith he examined Mr. Price in the Irish Articles[q]; for then

Discourse I.

[n] [Anthony Martin was Bishop of Meath from 1625 until his death (by the plague in Dublin) in 1650; and was appointed also to the Provostship of Trin. Coll. Dublin in 1641 (Ware, and Harris). Strafford writes, upon another subject in 1635, that he feared "the Primate was in fault, actuated too much by the heat of the Bishop of Meath" (Straff. Lett., ii. 15: and so again ii. 26).]

[o] ["The Primate, with most of the rest of the Bishops at that time, according to Bernard in his Life of Ussher," (this is an obvious exaggeration), "some few of the Bishops, according to Bp. Vesey in his Life of Bramhall, required of their clergy for some time" (after 1634) "subscription to both sets of Articles: the others seem to have been contented with the subscription to the English only" (Mant, as before quoted.) Those however who adhered to the Irish Articles, felt themselves to be in the difficulty; as they petitioned Strafford, through Ussher, for a ratification by Parliament of those Articles, a petition which was of course indignantly refused (Heylin, Life of Laud. Pt. ii. p. 273): and they thenceforward confined themselves to *asserting* (as e. g. Bernard and Parr), that those Articles had not been repealed.]

[p] ["Whereas Doctor Heylin hath censured the late Primate of Ireland very liberally for his approbation of the Articles of Ireland, he must take Bishop Bedell into the number also, who was so much for them, that I was present when, at the examination of an able minister, then to be ordained" (marg. "Mr. Thomas Price, then Fellow of the College of Dublin"), "he did in the Church examin him in each, or most of the Articles," &c. Character of Bp. Bedell, p. 352, at the end of Certain Discourses, &c., Each being the Judgment of the late Abp. of Armagh, published and enlarged by Nicholas Bernard, D.D. and Preacher to the Honourable Society of Grayes Inne, London. 8vo. 1659.]

[q] [Bedell was consecrated to the see of Kilmore Sept. 13, 1629, and held it (unless so far as he was expelled by the rebels) until his death Feb. 7, 1641 (Harris's Ware). Thomas Price, who was made Bp. of Kildare at the Restoration and afterwards Abp. of Cashel (Harris's Ware), received Priest's orders from Bp. Bedell (id.), and before 1634, as he was already Archdeacon of Kilmore when the Convocation of that year was held (Vesey's Life of Bramhall).]

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they were in force and authority; then the English Articles were not yet introduced into Ireland. And after a full and free discussion, it was resolved by the very much greater part of the votes for the Articles of England. It is mere mockery, to cry up liberty of conscience, and leave no liberty for opinions. To rest in general truths (which no party can deny to be sufficient to salvation), doth commonly produce unity: but the particular determination of unnecessary controverted points is for the most part inconsistent with it; and if it be over suddenly pressed, like strong medicines to a body unprepared, it often increaseth the malady. As men have more power over their own actions than over their own judgments, by so much their practices are the more proper objects of laws than their opinions.

No man can imagine, that this change could be made without some sort of reluctation, on the part of some (very few) Bishops, who perhaps had had an hand in framing the Irish Articles; rather out of a tender resentment of the honour of their Church, lest another Church should seem to give laws to them, than out of an opinion of the necessity of those Articles[r]. But concluded it was; and a precedent found of an ancient Synod at Cashel[s], which decreed the conformity of the Irish Church to the customs of the Church of England: and my Lord Primate himself, being president of the Convocation, did send for the prolocutor of the House of the Clerks, and the rest of the clergy, and declare to them the votes of the Bishops, and move them to assent thereunto, which they did accordingly: all which the Acts and Records of that Convocation do sufficiently testify.

I was the man who acquainted the Earl of Strafford with what the Convocation had done; which he thankfully accepted, and readily ratified. Neither do I remember, that his Lordship had any further hand in the change of the

[r] [The question about the English *Canons* was rested solely on the "point of honour" (Straff. Lett., vol. i. p. 381), although even there doctrinal considerations must have lain at the bottom of the opposition. As regarded the Articles, it was of course merely a way of putting the case convenient to both sides.]

[s] [A.D. 1172, when Henry II. visited Ireland in person to receive its submission. The object of the synod was expressly to "bring the Irish Church into an exact conformity with the English" (Girald. Cambr., Expugn. Hibern., lib. i. c. 33, ap. Camden. Anglica Scripta, p. 776. Francof. 1603). See an account of it in Wilkins, Concil., tom. i. pp. 471-473; and Cox, Hib. Angl., vol. i. pp. 22-24.]

Articles. Yet was I the only man employed from him to the Convocation, and from the Convocation to him[t].

[3. Respecting the Earl of Strafford.]

Here was no ground for an "aching [tooth[u]]" in my Lord Primate, against the Earl of Strafford, upon this occasion. Whosoever vented that malicious slander out of Ireland, deserved a whetstone for his labour; unless he knew more than either the Earl of Strafford himself, or any of his friends, ever suspected. But neither was the noble earl so dull-sighted, as not to see light through a mill-stone, as well as that informer, if there had been an hole in the midst of it; neither was the good Primate of such a vindictive disposition (vindictive is too low an expression, I might more aptly call it diabolical), as to write discontents in marble, and like another Haman, to give bloody counsel upon private disgusts. I dare say, if the reverend doctor[v], to whom this information was given, had known the Lord Primate, and his dove-like simplicity, how slow he was to take offence, and how ready to forgive and forget, as well as I did, he would himself throw the first stone at that informer; who, if he lived in Ireland, could not choose but see what mutual and cordial respects passed daily between those two great persons, from the first day of their acquaintance to the last. On the one side, witness all those constant and continual offices, which my Lord Primate did perform with cheerfulness to the state of Ireland during the Earl of Strafford's government, and to the earl himself in order to the King's service,

[t] [Bramhall was probably not aware of the private scenes between Strafford and Ussher, so forcibly narrated by the former in his letter to Laud (Straff. Lett., i. 343, 344). It appears from thence how completely the Archbishop was forced into subserviency to Strafford, and acted simply as his mouthpiece and instrument, although with no small reluctance.]

[u] [Judgm. of Abp. of Armagh, Bernard's Confirmation, &c. of the Primate's Letter (see above, p. 75, note q), p. 114:—misprinted "truth" in the folio edition of Bramhall. Ussher was accused of having advised Charles to pass the bill for Strafford's death out of a private grudge against him for "abrogating" the Irish Articles. See his own denial of the charge in 1643 or 4, and Charles's confirmation of his innocence, in Parr's Life of Ussher, pp. 46, 61 (Lond. 1686), and Bernard's Life of Ussher, pp. 96-98 (Lond. 1656); and in Sanderson's Hist. of the Reign of Charles I. (Lond. 1658), between pp. 408 and 409, where is given also a letter from Bp. (then Dr.) Cosin, to the same effect. Heylin, in his (anonymous) Observations on L'Estrange's Hist. of the Reign of Charles I., pp. 240, 241 (8vo. Lond. 1656), revived the charge, by speaking of Ussher as "carrying a sharp tooth" against Strafford for the reason above given, insinuating that he had at least not aided Strafford's cause with the king, when consulted by him upon the subject after Strafford's condemnation: and to him Bernard is here replying.]

[v] [Viz. Dr. Heylin: see the last note.]

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in the pulpit, in the Parliament, in the Convocation, at the Council-Table, in the Star-chamber, in the High Commission[x]. And, on the other side, witness the Regal Visitation committed to my Lord Primate's judge of the faculties[y]; the preferment of his brother-in-law, Mr. Hilton, without any suit made, for his sake, to be a Baron of the Exchequer[y]; the naming of himself, before all the peers of the kingdom, to be godfather to his child (no such small obligation in Ireland); the procuring of the king's warrant for him and his successors, Archbishops of Armagh, to take place of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland for the time being[z], in conformity to the custom of England; and, lastly, which weigheth more with me than all the rest, the choosing him to be his ghostly father and spiritual adviser at his death, and his receiving Absolution and the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ from his hands, when he had chaplains of his own in the city, doth convince me, and all ingenuous persons, that there was no dissatisfaction of either party against the other.

If the honour of a third person was not concerned in it deeply, I could add something more of what passed between them two at that time, whilst my Lord Primate was fitting him for eternity, and, like a light in a watch-tower, shewing him the dangers which were in the mouth of the harbour, and pointing him out the ready way into the arms of his Saviour; to evidence to the world the great care of the one, and the great observance of the other, and the mutual love of them both: for it passed not under the seal of confession, and I had it from my Lord Primate himself. 938

Yet, although I durst upon the hazard of my own life acquit my Lord Primate from any such vindictive design as hath been imputed to him, yet, knowing the sweetness and facility of his nature, how irksome all downright contradiction was unto him, and what influence the very name of "thy friend Benhadad" had upon some of his less deliberate actions,

[1 Kings xx. 33. "Thy brother Benhadad."]

[x] [That Strafford entertained a most sincere respect and affection for Ussher, is plain from many passages of his letters. See e. g. Straff. Lett., vol. i. p. 156. It is equally plain, that they differed very considerably in their views of Church government and of doctrine, and that Ussher's acquiescence in Strafford's policy arose merely from the latter's power and character, and not from any active agreement between them.]

[y] [See above in vol. i. p. vi.]

[z] [Bernard's Life of Ussher, p. 92; — Parr's Life of Ussher, p. 41.]

I cannot exempt him from all surprise at all times, nor concurring unwittingly to accomplish the more politic devices of such persons as wanted his sincerity. God had given him more of the innocence of the dove, than of the prudence of the serpent. And from this source his severe censure of Dr. Heylin, if he was not otherwise provoked, seemeth to me to have proceeded, in a matter, if I judge aright, not altogether so pertinent to the true controversy about the Lord's Day. But that was private, and without doubt he meant it no further. Men do often take liberty to whisper an expression in the ear of a private friend, which they would not have cried publicly at the market-cross.

How his letter[a] came to be published to the world, in private I have heard; and if my intelligence be right, as I firmly believe it is, the printing of that passage happened more by the adviser's fault than the publisher's. Howsoever it be, the plaintiff hath carved out his own reparation over severely, and intimated to the world a more crying crime against the innocent Primate than any error in judgment can possibly amount unto; and (which is no small aggravation of a misinformation) after the decease of the party accused, whom, I dare say, all men that know well, will readily acquit, without any long time to deliberate upon it, not only from the crime, but from all suspicion of it. I have a request to both the antagonists—that they will give over this controversy, and seek for honour by more noble achievments; or, at least, that whatsoever scope or liberty they take to themselves one against another about their other controverted points, they will suffer the ashes of this reverend prelate to rest in ease, who was an honour to his native country, an ornament to the Reformed Church, a conscionable preacher, and an exemplary pattern of piety.

[a] [Viz. the letter of Ussher to "an Honourable Person," (see above p. 75. note p); the "passage" specified being the severe language used towards Dr. Heylin, who is intended by "the plaintiff." That Heylin however did not "intimate the crying crime," of advising the king to consent to Strafford's execution, after Ussher's death (so far as he intimated it at all), appears from Sanderson, p. 406, quoted above p. 83. note t, Heylin's Observations upon L'Estrange's History (as it should seem) having been published sufficiently early in 1656 for Ussher to see them.]

DISCOURSE II.

A SERMON,

PREACHED IN YORK MINSTER,

BEFORE

HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARQUIS OF NEWCASTLE;

BEING THEN READY TO MEET

THE SCOTCH ARMY,

JAN. 28, 1643.

PUBLISHED THEN BY SPECIAL COMMAND.

BY

JOHN BRAMHALL, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF DERRY.

[TO THE READER.]

940 Among the public prayers of the Church of Scotland, in the time of their persecution by the Frenchmen, printed by Thomas Bassandine 1575[a], having acknowledged their perjury and breach of faith to England, and that God did justly punish them by that nation for whose cause they offended, and afterwards being delivered from that bondage by the help of the English, they give thanks in these words:—

"O Lord, . . . seeing, when we by our own power were altogether unable to have freed ourselves from the tyranny of strangers, and from the bondage and thraldom pretended against us, Thou of Thine especial goodness didst move the hearts of our neighbours (of whom we had deserved no such favour) to take upon them the common burden with us, and for our deliverance, not only to spend the lives of many, but also to hazard the state and tranquillity of their land[b] and commonwealth, grant unto us, O Lord, that with such reverence we may remember Thy benefits received, that after this, in our default, we never enter into hostility against the realm and nation of England. Suffer us never, O Lord, to fall to that ingratitude and detestable unthankfulness, that we shall seek the death and destruction of those, whom

[a] ["The CL Psalmes of David in English Metre; with the Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the Churche of Scotland;" &c. &c.; "printed at Edinburgh by Thomas Bassandine dwelling at the Nether Bow. 1575. Cum Privilegio." 8vo.] pp. 68—[70: from a prayer headed, "A Thanksgiving vnto God after our deliuerance fro: the tyranny of the Frenchemen, with prayers made for the continuance of the peace betwixt the Realmes of England and Scotland."—The "deliverance" referred to, is the expulsion of the French from Scotland, and the treaty of Edinburgh, in 1560, brought about, as it was, in great part, by the fleet and troops of Queen Elizabeth. See Buchanan, Rer. Scot. Hist., lib. xvi. pp. 324, 325, and lib. xvii. p. 326 (tom. i. fol. 1715);—Spottiswood, pp. 151, 152;—Robertson, Hist. of Scotl., bk. iii. pp. 190-202. 4to. edit.).]

[b] ["*Realm*," in the original.]

Thou hast made instruments to deliver us from the tyranny of merciless strangers."

This solemn confession is now forgotten. Without any provocation on our parts, or the least alteration in religion, they invade the children of their deliverers. 'Shall not God see it and require it?'

2 Chron. xxiv. 22.

DISCOURSE II.

SERMON BEFORE THE MARQUIS OF NEWCASTLE[a].

2 Sam. x. 12.

"Be of good courage, and let us play the men, for our people, and for the cities of our God; and the Lord do that which seemeth Him good."

First Printed at York, A.D. 1643.

This chapter containeth three parts, David's ambassage, Hanun's discourtesy, and David's revenge. "Then said David, I will shew kindness unto Hanun the son of Nahash, as his father shewed kindness unto me." Verse [2.] It was truly said by Solomon, "Love is strong as death." Cant. viii. 6. Gratitude is a branch that springs from this root. It is not buried in the grave, but descends from the parents upon their posterity. "*Non dissecanda sed dissuenda est amicitia*[b]"—"Friendship ought not to be slashed in sunder, but to be unstitched by degrees." But now what is become of this forgotten virtue? which, like the Phœnix, is much talked of, but seldom seen. Nothing grows aged sooner than a good turn. Now the

[a] [Jan. 28, 1643-4, upon the second invasion of England by the Scotch; whose army crossed the Tweed Jan. 15, summoned Newcastle (then garrisoned by Sir Thomas Glemham) in vain, crossed the Tyne Feb. 22, and encountered the Marquis of Newcastle at Durham (Rushw., vol. vi. pp. 498. 613-615). The Marquis, however, was compelled to retreat without a battle, owing to the rout of Col. Bellasis by Fairfax at Selby (id., ibid. p. 618). Bramhall's sermon was preached upon occasion of his marching from York. It was sent with Serpent Salve (then just published) to Ussher (Letter from Ussher to Bramhall in Vesey's Life of the latter, p. 27) and to Sir G. Radcliffe (Rawd. Papers, p. 93), both then at Oxford; the latter of whom, in his reply to Bramhall (dated March 20, 1643-4, —Rawd. Papers, ibid. No. xxxvii.), speaks of his having "shewed the king" (then also at Oxford) "that piece of the Scottish Liturgy, which concerns their ingratitude to this nation, printed in the front of" the "sermon." See also above in vol. iii. Pref. p. 3, notes i, j.]

[b] ["Amicitiæ dissuendæ magis quam discindendæ." Cic., De Amic., c. 21. See also the De Offic., i. 33.]

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world hath taken out a new lesson,—by cancelling the obligation to avoid the debt, and by picking some feigned quarrel to rob good deserts of their due reward. This is now held the more compendious way for degenerous spirits to disengage themselves. The king of Ammon did find no such measure from David; but the king of Albion finds it from too many treacherous Zibas, to whom both he and his father have shewed other manners of kindnesses, than Nahash did to David.

[2 Sam. ix. 9-12; xii. 1-4; xix. 24-30.]

Hanun was an idolater, and more than that, an Ammonite, of whom the law saith, "Thou shalt not seek their peace nor their prosperity all thy days for ever." Differences in religion disoblige no man from civil duties. Faith is to be kept with a heretic, and offices of humanity are due from a Jew to an Ammonite.

Deut. xxiii. 6.

But things well intended are not always rightly construed. '*Mala mens, malus animus.*' The spider will extract poison out of the sweetest flowers. 'A sore eye will be offended with the light of the sun[c].' Notwithstanding all Hezekiah's piety, Rabshakeh will not stick to say, that he hath pulled down the Altars of God. So here David's courtesy is traduced. The princes of Ammon say to their lord, "Thinkest thou that David doth honour thy father? . . hath not David rather sent his servants to search the city, and to spy it out." They spake not altogether without reason; ambassadors are often honourable spies: but in this case their suspicion was groundless. You see we are not the first nation, whom needless jealousies have undone, or imaginary fears have plunged into real dangers. Evil counsellors, who infuse malignant notions into the ears of princes, are like those who poison a common fountain, whereof all the city doth drink. On the other side, blessed is that kingdom, where the king's friends are Alexander's friends[d], where the favourers of the commonwealth are the favourites of the prince; such may be truly called, "the horsemen and chariots of Israel." But such were not these princes of Ammon. Evil counsel in the end proves worst for them that give it. By seeking to prevent David, they invite him to their own

Isai. xxxvi. 7.

Verse 3.

2 Kings xiii. 14.

[c] [See Plut., De Adul. et Amici Discrim., c. 28; Op. Moral., tom. i. p. 181.]

[d] [Id., Apophthegm. Regum, in Alexand. num. 29; ibid. p. 505.]

ruin. Thus the will of God is fulfilled, even whilst it is shunned. Yet these evil counsellors were not '*in nubibus*'—'in the clouds;' the fact was evident. If it were sufficient to accuse, who should be innocent? The wolves, in the treaty with the sheep, desired that the dogs might be destroyed, as incendiaries and evil counsellors (can you blame them?), that they might range and worry at their pleasure[e].

The evil counsellors suffered justly; but Hanun was not innocent, to "take David's servants, and shave off half their beards, and cut off their garments in the middle;" that is, to strip them of the two principal outward ornaments of a man, [the one] natural, hair; the other artificial, clothes. I find four gross errors in this passage:—first, against the light of nature, to punish upon a bare suggestion, without proof or discussion, whereas in criminal causes the proofs ought to be clearer than the noon-day light:—secondly, against the law of nations, to use ambassadors in that barbarous manner, whose office is sacred, and ought always to protect their persons; yet we see how God's ambassadors have often met with the same entertainment:—thirdly, against the rule of policy, first to disgrace and provoke men of parts and power, and then to dismiss them; which error cost the Samnites dear, when they had the Roman consuls and legions in their mercy, cooped up at Caudium; they did neither dismiss them honourably, to oblige the Romans, as they were first advised, nor cut them off every mother's son, to disable the Romans to revenge, as they were advised in the second place, but caused them, after they had disarmed them, to pass disgracefully under the yoke, and so dismissed them with reproach, which they revenged soon after with the ruin of the Samnites[f]:—fourthly, against piety: by the Law, torn garments were proper to lepers; they were forbidden to "round" their "heads," or to "mar the corners of their beards;" but the Ammonites thought to put a jeer upon the Jewish religion, even as some of late have ludibriously abused those holy garments and books and vessels, which we use in the service of God. The Ammonites found, that it was not good to jest with edge tools: profane Lucian was

[Verse 4.]

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Levit. xxi. 5: xix. 27.

[e] [Id., in V. Demosthen., tom. iv. p. 1[illegible]. ed. Bryant.]

[f] [Liv., ix. 3.]

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torn in pieces with dogs[g]: and the other will find, that God is a severe avenger of such impious scoffs.

Verse 5. David's care of his servants shews, how governors ought to protect their inferior and subordinate ministers in the execution of their commands, and to preserve them from contempt.

Verse 6. The Ammonites see their error when it was too late. There is no doubt, but even then upon submission David would have remitted the injury; but their consciences told them, the abuse was too gross and public to be forgotten. We see by daily experience, that conscience of guilt, and desperation of forgiveness, drive men into courses pernicious both to themselves and others.

Therefore, to secure themselves, the Ammonites wage thirty-three thousand Syrians; but in the disposing of their
Verse 6. men, this is worthy of observation, that they kept themselves
Verse 8. near the gates, for a sure retreat, but the Syrians they placed in the open field. It was never held to be discretion in any nation, to bring armies of foreigners, whom they could not regulate, into their chief strengths and holds: witness the Mamertines in Messana[h], the Saxons in Britain.

But here they met with Joab, an overmatch for them in the art of war, as he shews by the ordering of his men, verse 9,—by his provident forecast, verse 11 (fear the worst, and the best will always save itself),—and, lastly, by his gallantry, in my text,—"Be of good courage, and let us play the men, for our people, and for the cities of our God, and the Lord do that which seemeth Him good."

In which words I observe four parts: first, a brave exhortation,—"Be of good courage;"—secondly, a magnanimous resolution,—"And let us play the men;"—thirdly, a just reason,—"For our people, and for the cities of our God;"—fourthly, a pious submission,—"And the Lord do that which seemeth Him good."

It hath been ever the custom of generals, before hazardous battle, to cheer up the hearts of their soldiers in a pathetical oration, with arguments drawn from the approved

[g] [Suidas, Art. upon "Λουκιανὸς ὁ Σαμοσατεὺς, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς βλάσφημος;" but the story is of doubtful authority. See the Life of Lucian prefixed to the edition of his works by Hemsterhuis and Reitz.]

[h] [See Arnold, Hist. of Rome, vol. ii. pp. 422, 423; and Liv., xxviii. 29.]

valour and virtue of themselves or their ancestors, from the assured hope of rich spoils, from the justice and piety of their cause. So God commands, Deut. xx; so Joab practiseth, in my text,—"Be of good courage," &c. [Deut. xx. 1-9.]

I cannot pass in silence by the brotherly love of Joab and Abishai, verse 11:—"If the Syrians be too strong for me, thou shalt help me; and if the Ammonites be too strong for thee, I will help thee." As, when one foot trips, the other is ready presently to sustain it. And here in my text, by encouraging one another to "play the men;" or rather to play the man, as it is said of the children of Israel, that they went out "as one man;" that is, with one heart, and one soul, animated with the same desire of the public good. The left hand doth not stand more in need of the right, than an army doth of the concord of its commanders. Where I see this blessed sympathy, I cannot but echo out that of the Psalmist;—"Behold how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity; for there the Lord hath promised His blessing, and life for evermore." But where men are drawn into action (as a bear to the stake) by force or fear, where a little base plunder is preferred before honour and victory, where there is faction, envy, and emulation amongst great officers, it portends destruction and dissipation; the God of Heaven and earth ever bless this army from it. And if there be any persons within the sound of my voice, who are conscious to themselves of such sinister respects, or of any other impediment, which may retard our hopes of a happy victory, either by offending God, or disabling them to do the duties of their places, I do here beseech them, by that service which they owe to God, by that allegiance which they owe to his Majesty, by that love which they owe to their native country, to sacrifice them this day to the common cause, or at least with the serpent to deposit them so long, till this army return again in peace.

1 Sam. xi. 7.

Ps. cxxxiii. [1-3.]

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And the only way to peace is "courage," which yields to no chances, is terrified with no dangers;—

"Et ab ipso
"Ducit opes animumque ferro[i]."

There cannot be a worse counsellor than fear, in time of

[i] [Horat., Carm., IV. iv. 59, 60.]

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danger. "*Pessimus in dubiis augur timor.*" Fear caused Moses to stagger at God's commandment. Fear caused Elias to fly from the womanish threatenings of Jezebel. Fear caused Peter to deny his Master. Fear will metamorphose a field of thistles into an army of men. Fear will cause a man to tremble at "the sound of a shaken leaf." As a man standing upon the edge of some lofty turret, or precipitous crag, without any to push him forward, even by looking down, is in danger to tumble down headlong through fear, so degenerous 'fear betrays the succours of the soul.' Therefore, when Gideon's army was to give the charge upon the enemy, he caused proclamation to be made in the camp, "Whoso is timorous, let him depart." The reason is given, Deut. xx. 8,—lest his example make his fellow soldiers to "faint." But nothing is difficult to courage. In the land of Canaan there were giants, to whom the Israelites being compared did seem but grasshoppers; yet, said Caleb and Joshua, "Fear them not, they are bread for us:"—bread, which is eaten without any labour or difficulty. When Saul was to be inaugurated king by Samuel, he set nothing before him but a "shoulder;" a mean dish for a royal entertainment: some have found out a mystery in it (they might better call it an allegory),—that as the shoulder doth bear up the beast, so the "courage" and fortitude of a king doth sustain the body politic, so to teach governors how they ought to bear the burden of the commonwealth[j]. The ancient law of governing the Roman army was reduced to two heads; first, "*Non sequi*;" secondly, "*Non fugere*[k]:"—first, not to make a rash hazard without good ground (he that loveth danger shall perish in it); secondly, not to decline danger timorously, when it offers itself, and cowardly to betray a good cause. Therefore, as one said, that pronunciation was the first, and second, and third part of a good orator[l]; so may I say, that "courage" is the first, and second, and third part of a good commander. It is a slander cast upon religion, that it makes men cowards. The fear of God is the best armour against the fear of man.

Exod. iii. 11. 1 Kings, xix. 3. [Matt. xxvi. 69-75.—&c.] Lev. xxvi. 36. [Wisd. xvii. 12.] Judg. vii. 3. Numb. xiv. 9. 1 Sam. ix. [24.]

[j] [See Poole, Synops. in loc., citing (among other commentators) Cornelius a Lapide and Peter Martyr.]

[k] [Veget., De Re Militari, lib. ii. c. 7.]

[l] [Demosthenes: see Cic., De Oratore, iii. 56; Quintil., De Instit. Orat., xi. 3.]

Religion is the root of "courage." "By faith" our fathers "subdued kingdoms," &c., "waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of aliens." Let the heathens brag of their Decii[m] and Curtii[n], that devoted their lives to death for the love of their country;— Discourse II. Heb. xi. 33, [34.]

"Vicit amor patriæ, laudumque immensa cupido[o];"—

we have our Moses and Paul, that desired to be made anathemas for their brethren. Their Socrates drunk his poison cheerfully[p]: our Cyprian said Amen to the sentence of his own condemnation[q]. Their Scævola burned his hand for mistaking Porsenna[r]: we are able to name a catalogue of martyrs, who have kissed the stake, sung hymns in the midst of the fire; who have accounted their sufferings, palms; their punishments, triumphs; their infamy, glory; their exile, their country; their bonds, their crown; their prison, their paradise; their deathday, their birthday. So, in "courage" we equal them, in the cause we far excel them; this is "good courage" indeed. Some think to express their courage by roaring and blaspheming over their cups, by unseasonable duels and quarrels, by mutining against their commanders, by tyrannizing over their inferiors, by trampling under foot all laws both of God and man: this is so far from "good courage," that it is rather an argument of cowardice. True "courage" is fearful to offend God, hath a reverend regard of the laws, is obedient to superiors, courteous to equals, indulgent to inferiors, and
944 evermore grounded upon a good cause, and accompanied with cheerfulness and resolution; that's my next point,— "And let us play the men." [Exod. xxxii. 32.—Rom. ix. 3.]

A strange kind of "play;" but the terrible face of war is sport to a martial and experienced mind: as Job saith of Leviathan, that "he esteemeth iron as straw," accounts "darts as stubble," and "laugheth at the shaking of the spear."—"Let the young men arise and play before us;" a [Job xli. 27-29.] 2 Sam. ii. 14.

[m] [Liv. viii. 9, 10.]
[n] [Id., vii. 6.]
[o] [Virg., Æn., vi. 823.]
[p] [See Platon. Phædon. c. lxvi.; Op. tom. i. p. 117. C.]
[q] ["Et his dictis" (Galerius Maximus Proconsul) "decretum ex tabellâ recitavit,—Thascium Cyprianum gladio animadverti placet. Cyprianus Episcopus dixit, Deo gratias." S. Cyprian. Passio, ap. Vit. Cypr. p. 13. Op. ed. Fell.]
[r] [Liv., ii. 12, 13.]

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fatal skirmish, where not one survived. Virtue is derived "*a viro*"—from "a man." So the phrase is used 1 Sam. iv. 9,—"O ye Philistines, be strong, and quit yourselves like men." In the same dialect David speaketh to Solomon, 1 Kings ii. 2. "Be thou strong, and shew thyself a man;" that is, of a masculine virtue and spirit; a man, not a child ("*Væ terræ cujus rex est puer*"—"woe is that province where the governor is a child," uncertain, mutable, without resolution.—Eph. iv. 14,—"That we henceforth be no more as children tossed to and fro," &c.;—fluctuating men without resolution are compared to children, who may be drawn any way with a fair word or an apple; or to ships lying at hull[s], "tossed to and fro," still changing postures):—secondly, a man, not a woman, without courage and resolution; God provides strictly, Deut. xxii. 5. that "a man shall not wear a woman's garment;" much less put on womanish manners. There could be nothing more opprobriously objected than this;—

> "Vos etenim juvenes animos geritis muliebres,
> "Illaque virgo viri[t]:"—

whence was that brag of a Lacedæmonian woman, that they only brought forth men[u]. "Let us play the men." But the chief emphasis lies in this word "us,"—"let *us* play." It was Cæsar's honour, that his commands to his soldiers were not "*Ite*"—"Go *ye*," but "*Venite*"—"Come," let us Judg. ix. 48. go[v]. It was Abimelech's charge to his army, "What ye see me do, do quickly." "*Digna Gideonitarum genere sententia*"—"a saying worthy of the son of Gideon." The example of a leader hath a strong influence upon his followers. Observe the words of Uriah, 2 Sam. xi. 11,—"The ark, and Israel, and Judah, abide in tents, and my lord Joab is encamped in the open fields, and shall I go into mine house to eat and drink?"—"My lord Joab," there is his pattern. It was debated among the philosophers, whether an army of lions having a hart to be their captain, or an army of harts having a lion to be their captain, were the more considerable army;

[s] [i. e. riding to and fro upon the water. See, both for the expression and for the passage itself, Bramhall's Catch. of Leviath., c. iii. (above in vol. iv. p. 592) Disc. iii. Pt. iii.]

[t] [Ennius, ap. Cic., De Offic., i. 18. Ernesti reads in the second line—"illa *virago* viri."]

[u] [A saying attributed to Gorgo by Plutarch, in V. Lycurgi, tom. i. p. 103. ed. Bryant.]

[v] ["Ignave, venire Te Cæsar, non ire, jubet." Lucan., Pharsal., v. 487, 488.]

and it was determined for the army of harts, having a lion to their governor[x]. The great wheel of a clock sets all the little wheels on going. In Alexander's time all the Macedonians were soldiers. In Augustus his reign all the good wits in Rome were poets. The example of a leader draws his followers, as the loadstone draws iron, or the jet draws chaff. In a word, a vigilant and a resolute commander is like a light in a watch-tower, to direct his company to the safe harbour of victory; but a negligent and cowardly leader is like fires made among the rocks, brings his followers the ready way to ruin and destruction. Therefore saith Joab, "Let us play the men." Discourse II.

But what is resolution without a good cause? Joab wanted not that,—"For our people, and for the cities of our God." "For our people," that is, our wives, our children, our parents, our neighbours, our friends, our native country; and "for the cities of our God," that is, our Churches, our religion: so, "for our people and for the cities of our God," is "*pro aris et focis*"—"for our altars and for our fires," for our Church and commonwealth. The very heathens could teach us by the light of nature, that we are not born only for ourselves, but partly for our parents, partly for our country. Ulysses preferred the smoke of Ithaca his native soil before all those pleasant regions that he had seen[y].—

"Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos
"Ducit[z];"—

whether it be by the instinct of nature, as beasts love their dens, birds their nests; or by civil institution, as having the same laws, the same ceremonies, the same temples, the same markets, the same tribunals. It was the prayer of the Elders for Boaz, that he might "do worthily in Ephratah, and be famous in Bethlehem," that is, in his native country. It was Esther's resolution for her countrymen, "If I perish, I perish." And Nehemiah, though for his own particular he was cup-bearer to a great king, yet his affections are still the same to his country:—"Why should not my countenance be sad, when the city, the place of my fathers' sepul- Ruth iv. 11. [Esther iv. 16.] Nehem. ii. 3.

[x] [A saying of Chabrias, ap. Plutarch., Apophthegm. Reg., Op. Moral. tom. i. p. 522.]

[y] ["Αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς, Ἱέμενος καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρώσκοντα νοῆσαι Ἧς γαίης, θανέειν ἱμείρεται." Odyss., i. 57-59.]

[z] [Ovid., Epist. in Pont., I. iii. 35, 36.]

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chres, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are burned with fire." Abraham, that was so ready to sacrifice his only son upon a mere command, yet, when God requireth him to leave his native country, He presseth it home to him with many reasons and promises. Brutus commanded his own sons to be slain before his eyes, for conspiring against their country[a]. When Sampson, without any weapon in his hand, set upon a lion as though it had been a kid, the reason is intimated in the verse precedent,—for the safeguard of his "father and his mother." There cannot be a juster war than for defence of our country. It was Tully's wish, that every one in Rome had it written upon his forehead, how he stood affected to the commonwealth[b]. I think it were a good wish for England at this present; that we might know who are truly zealous "for their people." 915

Gen. xii. 1, &c.

Judg. xiv. 6.

The other reason is altogether as strong,—"And for the cities of our God." The Italians give sundry additions to their chiefest cities; as, Florence the Fair, Venice the Rich, Genoa the Stately, Milan the Great, Rome the Holy. This is certain, no city in the universe can have a more glorious title than this in my text, to be one of "the cities of our God." But why are the cities of Israel called "the cities of God?" For two reasons:—first, because the Lord had a peculiar interest in this land above all other lands. "The land shall not be sold for ever, for the land is Mine, . . ye are strangers and sojourners with Me;" so the Lord was the true owner, the Israelites were but the usufructuaries. Secondly, because they were the Church of God, "Judah was His Sanctuary, Israel His dominion," in them He had "put His Name." Solomon knew the true mother from the feigned by her love to the child; so a genuine son of the Church may be distinguished from a counterfeit, by his affection to the Church. "By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept, when we remembered thee, O Sion." And, "Arise, O Lord, and have mercy upon Sion, . . for why? thy servants think upon her stones, and it pitieth them to see her in the dust." But the Church requires not only our affections and supplications, but our best endeavours. It is recorded of Theodosius, that good emperor, to his eternal

Lev. xxv. 23.

[Ps. cxiv. 2.] [Deut. xii. 5, 21, &c.] [2 Kings iii. 24-28.]

[Psalm cxxxvii. 1; —cii. 13, 14. Prayer-bk. version.]

[a] [Liv., ii. 5.]

[b] [Cic., In Catil., i. 13.]

honour, that upon his death-bed he was more solicitous "for the cities of God," that is, the Churches, than for himself, or his posterity[c]. And when ordinary endeavours will not serve, the sword is never more justly drawn than to defend religion. As we read of those builders of Jerusalem, who laboured with their trowels in the one hand and their swords in the other hand. But these were builders up, not pullers down: whatsoever they did, was by the licence, and upon the special warrant, of the great king Artaxerxes; not rebelliously, upon their own heads. What a pitiful complaint did Laban make for his images,—"*tulerunt deos*"—"they have taken away my gods;" and Mary, for the dead Body of our Saviour,—"*tulerunt Dominum*"—"they have taken away my Lord." Much more have we cause to be moved, when men go about by force to rob us of our religion. A private man may lawfully keep the possession of his house or land against all acts of violence; much more may a whole Church hold the possession of their religion. Three sorts of losses principally concern a man; first, in his estate, that is but chaff; next, in his body, that is but bran; lastly, in his soul, that is the flour, and there is the greatest loss. "What shall it profit a man to win the whole world, and lose his soul?" We do not read of any wars among the heathen for religion, except to punish sacrilege. The reason was partly in their Gods, which were sociable to admit fellows;—(when Tiberius made a motion in the senate to have Christ admitted into the number of their Gods, it was answered, that He was "*impatiens consortis*," not like their Gods, He would admit no companions[d]:)—and partly in themselves; many of them were of opinion, that as variety of instruments makes the sweetest concert, so variety of religions makes the best harmony in the ears of God. But now see how the world is turned! Sacrilege is grown a principal part of God's service (or else some have but a little share of religion, who yet despise all others as profane). Now "*uva vel faba*"—"a grape or a bean," is too much for God's service: though David was of a more generous disposition,—"Nay, but I will surely buy it of thee at a price, neither will I offer burnt-

Neh. iv. 17.

[Neh. ii. 7, 8.]

[Gen. xxxi. 30.]

[John xx. 13. Vulg.]

[Matt. xvi. 26.—Mark viii. 36.]

2 Sam xxiv. 24.

[c] [Ambros., Orat. de Obitu Theodos., c. 25; Op. tom. ii. p. 1207. B. And compare Socrat., H. E., v. 26.]

[d] [Euseb., H. E., ii. 2]

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offerings unto the Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing." Now the duties which many men pay to the Deity, are nothing but opinions and crotchets; and for these they think it lawful for private men to mingle heaven and earth together, for subjects to invade their sovereign's dominions. They who lately cried for nothing but liberty of conscience, now will obtrude their own conceits upon strangers 946
by the sword. In this case, he is no good Christian, no good commonwealth's man, no true Englishman, that will not say cheerfully with Joab in my text, "Be of good courage, and let us play the men, for our people, and for the cities of our God,"—'*Deo duce, ferro comitante*'—'with a good sword to attend them, and God Almighty to lead them.'

That brings me to my last part,—"And let the Lord do that which seemeth Him good." This shews Joab's dependence upon God, and his submission to the will of the Lord. If He see it be good for us to be conquerors, we shall be conquerors; if not, we shall die gloriously: however, "Blessed be the name of the Lord." Men never prosper, who deal too majestically, and will needs be their own carvers with God. When the husbandman hath tilled and sown his ground, he may not challenge a good crop at the hands of
[1 Cor. iii. 6.] God, but expect it of His bounty. Paul may "plant," and "Apollos water," but still it is "God" that "gives the increase." We are blind, and know not what is truly good for ourselves. "*Perieramus nisi periissemus*[e]," said Themistocles to his children;—"We had perished, if we had not
[Gen. xxx. 1; xxxv. 18.] perished;" that is, in our own opinions. Rachel longs and cries for children, and she dies in child-bed. Therefore the heathen prayed, O Jupiter, if I beg of thee those things which will prove hurtful to me, withhold them from me. But that which "seemeth good" to God, is always truly good; Who disposeth all things sweetly, and out of poison can extract a good cordial. Then let us do our duties, and submit the success to God. Carking and macerating cares dry up the bones, plow up deep furrows in the forehead, make the
[Eccl. xii. 5.] white "almond tree" to "flourish" before the time, shorten
[Matt. vi. 25.] the life. Our Saviour bids, "Take no thought;" yet St.
[1 Tim. v. 8.] Paul tells us, that he that taketh no care, "is worse than

[e] [Plut., in V. Themistocl., tom. i. p. 280, ed. Bryant.]

an infidel." How are these reconciled? Take care for the means; that is good: take no care for the event; that is bad. "*Tolle quod tuum est*"—"Take up thy part," and leave God's part to Himself. "Play thou the man, and let God do that which seemeth Him good." [Matt. xx. 14. Vulg.]

But besides the dependence, it shews also Joab's confidence. Let not us be wanting to ourselves, and God will not be wanting to His own cause. The known justice of the cause is a great encouragement to a soldier in the day of battle. This was the reason of that Roman policy:—before they began any wars, the herald or Fecial went to the confines of the enemy's country, and made a solemn prayer,—"*Audi Jupiter*, and thou Juno, Quirinus thou, and all ye Gods celestial, terrestrial, and infernal, I call you to witness that this people is unjust," &c.;—and having so said, he threw his javelin into the enemy's country[f]. But leaving them to their superstitions: it is a happy conflict which is undertaken for a good cause; where they neither fear sin from the slaughter of their enemies, nor danger from their own deaths; where they kill securely, and are killed more securely, being defended with armour without, and with a good conscience within. Now I have done with my text.

The application is short. The princes of Ammon conspire against David. They were kinsmen as descended from Lot, but no subjects; the less was their crime. These find themselves too weak, and therefore hire an army of mercenary Syrians, strangers to them both, to invade Israel. This forceth Joab, King David's general, to divide his army, part against the Syrians, part against the Ammonites. Church and commonwealth are both at stake: but by the valour and providence of Joab, the Syrians are first beaten; and presently thereupon the hearts of the Ammonites fail them, they never look into the field again. Rabbah, the royal city of Ammon, is taken by King David; and upon this occasion Syria is absolutely subjected to the crown of Israel. Let the success prove answerably to all that hate his Majesty, and let the application be to his "enemies; but let those that love him, be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might." So and never but so shall this "land have rest." [Gen. xix. 38.] [2 Sam. x. 6-14.] [2 Sam. xi. I; xii. 26-31.] [2 Sam. x. 15-19.] [Judg. v. 31.]

[f] [Liv., i. 32.]

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The exhortation will be somewhat longer. It was wisely said, "*Externus hostis unitatis vinculum*"—"A foreign enemy is or ought to be a composer of domestic differences." Nature doth teach us to unite ourselves for our own preservation. Cast water into a dusty place, and it will contract itself into round globes to save itself, an emblem of association; yet this is contrary to its own disposition. Humid bodies are easily contained in other bounds, difficultly in their own. "*Vomitio vomitionem sedat,*" *&c.* If a vein be broken within the body, the ready way (say the physicians) to stay the 947
bleeding, is to open another without. If a foreign enemy do not cure our rancorous dispositions one towards another, I can say no more, but "*Quos perdere vult Jupiter, hos priùs dementat*"—"Whom God will have destroyed, He first infatuateth." Simple and prepossessed people may be seduced by Declarations and Protestations, to believe that their coming is really for the good of this kingdom. I deny not but it may so accidentally fall out. But I desire to know, when did ever any nation that intended war, want such pre-
Isai. xxxvi. 10. tences? "Am I now come up without the Lord against this land? The Lord hath said unto me, go up against this land," saith Sennacherib. Can the vast charge and the bitter fruits of the last voyage[g] be so soon forgotten of us? When the Lacedæmonians once made a reasonable suit to the Athenians, even in their own judgment, yet they rejected it in this respect, lest they should teach their neighbours of Lacedæmon the way in like cases to Athens, or give them a haunt to make such suits. What I pray you would they have done, if the suit had been unjust and unlawful, if their neighbours had made such a motion in a chargeable, commanding, hostile manner?

I have seen their latest and shortest Declaration[h], sent from Berwick [by] the Commissioners[i] in a letter to Sir Thomas

[g] [Scil. the Scotch invasion of England in 1639.]

[h] [Issued shortly before the Scotch army crossed the Tweed on their march into England, which was on January 15, 1643. old style:—Rushw., vol. vi. pp. 487-489. It was a small 4to. pamphlet of six pages, entitled "A Short Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland, for Information and Satisfaction to their brethren of England concerning the present Expedition into England;" and was followed by another and longer Declaration;—Rushw., ibid. pp. 490-493.]

[i] ["Certain Commissioners" were sent into Scotland, in August 1643, by the English Parliament, "to negociate a treaty of assistance" with the Scotch; viz. the Earl of Rutland, Sir W. Ar-

Glemham[k], to satisfy their brethren of England in these three things concerning their present expedition: 1. Of "the justness of their cause;" 2. Of "the lawfulness of their calling thereto;" 3. Of "the faithfulness of their carriages therein[l]." If they fail in any one of these, their expedition is unjust, and cannot be approved in the judgment of a brother; for '*bonum ex singulis circumstantiis, malum ex quolibet defectu.*' But if they fail in every one of these (as they do), what good shall we expect from such a voyage? "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" Matt. vii. 16.

First, for "the justness of their cause." Hearing them so often tell of their "clear demonstrations," who would not have expected some downright authorities, and precedents from the Word of God, or at least some authentic proofs from the national laws of one or both kingdoms? These are the standard and measure of justice to us. Who would not have expected, that they should at least have endeavoured to have answered the late Acts of Pacification[m], so solemnly passed in both kingdoms? But for all these, behold a deep silence. If silence be not a plenary consent, yet in this case it implies strongly, that they know in their own consciences, that the laws of God and man are both against them. But instead of these, they "profess before God and the world, that their hearts are clear from" all sinister "intentions," that "the love of Christ requireth Christians to bear one another's burdens," that "the law of nature doth challenge their care and endeavour to prevent their own danger," which is "wrapped up in their neighbour's[n]." Alas! what poor bulrushes are these, to bear the weight of so much Christian blood as is like to be shed in this cause! That plea taken from "their own danger," shews us plainly, that howsoever they pretend "the love of Christ," yet their charity begins

myne, Sir H. Vane the younger, Mr. Hatcher, Mr. Darley, and two ministers, Mr. Marshal and Mr. Nye. Rushw., ibid. pp. 466, 467. The folio edition has here "*to* the commissioners," by an evident misprint.]

[k] [Then in command of the advanced guard of the King's troops, at Alnwick. The letter is dated Jan. 20. 1644 (i. e. N. S.), and signed by the Duke of Argyle in the name of the Scotch and Sir W. Armyne in that of the English. It is in Rushw., ibid. pp. 606, 607, with Sir Thomas's answer; who had fallen back upon Newcastle at the time Bramhall's sermon was preached, eight days subsequently.]

[l] [Rushw., vol. vi. p. 488.]

[m] [Passed in 1641.—Rushw., vol. v. pp. 375, 384.]

[n] [Short Declar. quoted in note i, in Rushw. vol. vi. p. 488.]

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at home. Indeed there is no fence for fear; but what cause have we given them to fear? "*Nihil timendum video, sed timeo tamen*[o]." Unless it be that of the wise man;—

Wisd. xvii. 11.

"Wickedness, condemned by her own witness, is very timorous; and being pressed with conscience, always forecasteth grievous things." But let us take their words for once, seeing we can have no other assurance of their "intentions." It is not a good "intention," nor a pretended "love of Christ," nor a supposed 'necessity,' nor any one of these, nor all of these together, that can justify an unlawful action.

[Rom. iii. 8.]

It is not lawful to "do evil, that good may come" of it. Charity and justice go always hand in hand together. This is, for fear of an uncertain danger, to run into a certain sin. But they tell us, that they come to "rescue the king's" person out of the hands of evil councillors, "who are enemies to religion[p]." In serious causes, it is dishonourable to trifle with pretences. Do they think, or can they think, that the king is kept in durance against his will? or necessitated to do any act contrary to the dictate of his own reason? I appeal to their own consciences. It were greatly to be wished, that they would once speak out and name the 'evil councillors.' The history of this kingdom doth shew, that treason hath often put itself into this dress, seeking to hide its deformity from the world under this painted mask of removing 'evil councillors.' God be blessed, his Majesty hath now the flower of both Houses of Parliament about him (I hope these are not the 'evil councillors'); and daily more and more are repairing to him, so many for number, so venerable for their condition, that all your committees put together do not deserve to be named upon the same day. If we look back to former Parliaments, we shall find the most of these, great 948
confessors, and (in will) martyrs, for this commonwealth: some of them clapt up into the Tower, others into the Fleet, others disjusticed in the country, and disabled to have all offices, for their love to their country: and shall we now be frighted from them with the name of 'evil councillors?' But yet perhaps they are "enemies to religion." It may be so: to

[o] [Senec., Thyestes, 436.]
[p] [Short Declar. quoted in note i, in Rushw., ibid.]

that religion, which innovators[q] would introduce by force of arms; but not to that religion, which is established by the laws of this kingdom, and which God hath so long blessed to us and our fathers with peace and happiness.

In the next place they go about, with the same success, to "justify the lawfulness of their calling." A hard task, seeing England is quite without the sphere of their activity. Here I expected, that they should have cited some fundamental league of both nations to this purpose, or something that might have satisfied conscience. But all they say in defence of their calling (except the iterated pleas of their own necessity, and mischievous counsels, which they insert here again), may be reduced to this brief sum,—that this expedition is desired by our Parliament, and concluded by the consent of their Committee[r]. We will for the present suppose,—that which we know to be otherwise, and they are never able to prove,—that the two Houses were full, and free both from force and fear. Yet there are three main imperfections in their calling. First, nothing can give what it hath not; but it is clear by our laws, that the two Houses never had, nor have, any power of arms, but his Majesty alone. Secondly, if the Parliament had power to call, yet they, being subjects, have no power to entertain such a motion without the consent of their sovereign; notwithstanding all their vows and covenants, which never bind a subject contrary to his allegiance, nor a child contrary to his filial duty. Thirdly, it is as clear, that the Parliament can give no such conclusive power to a "Committee." They themselves are but proctor for our shires, cities, and boroughs; and by the law, "a deputy cannot make a deputy." Then let all men judge, what a calling this is like to be, where the cause is without all efficacy, the object without capacity, and the means without idoneity.

Their last labour is, to clear "the faithfulness of their carriages herein;" and that is by their promises[s]. A weak tenure; any man may be rich in promises. "The pipe plays sweetly whilst the fowler is about his prey[t]." But

[q] ["Innovat*ions*" in the folio edition, by an obvious misprint.]

[r] [Short Declar. quoted in note i, in Rushw., ibid.—"The Parliament of England . . have thought fit by their Commissioners," &c. And see above p. 104, note j.]

[s] [Ibid., p. 489.]

[t] ["Fistula dulce canit volucrem dum decipit auceps." Dionys. Caton., Distich., lib. i. dist. 27.]

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they go further,—to give "the public faith of the kingdom of Scotland[u]." It seems they think, that Englishmen are to be catched with chaff. What is "the public faith" of a "kingdom" worth without the concurrence of the king? especially being given by a committee. There was a time, when such a thing called "the public faith," would have passed currently, though not with a scrivener, yet with some credulous citizens[x]; but now they will as soon trust a knight of the post. They know not how to implead "the public faith," or to arrest "the public faith," or to imprison "the public faith." The Declarers appeal to their former voyage,—"how little damage was occasioned by" their "means, how little disorder was committed by" them[y]. But (to pass by many things that might be justly alleged, in respect there is an Act of Oblivion[z]), then they were well paid, with a large overplus (I hope it was not for a come-again), now they can expect no payment in money; and in such a case, how is it possible that the soldiers should be kept from disorder? Lastly, they engage themselves, that this expedition "shall be made no use of to any other ends, than are expressed in the covenant, and in the treaty subscribed by the" English "commissioners[a]." What? not accidentally by particular persons? What "committee" can undertake that? We have not seen any "covenant" of theirs to invade England. If they have made any such, it binds them neither more nor less than Herod's oath did bind him to cut off John Baptist's head; or that desperate vow did bind the Jews to murder Paul. But we have seen a copy of "the treaty." If it be true, it is the highest burden that ever was imposed upon a kingdom. The English "Commissioners" know how to cut large swatches of other men's cloth. But who shall tie the bell about the cat's neck? It gives them all the "lands and estates of all popish prelatical persons, and of all malignants who have assisted or contributed to the king" (that is, of all men) "between Trent and Tweed, until all the arrerages

Matt. xiv. 7. Acts xxiii. 12.

[u] [Short Declar. quoted in note i, in Rushw., vol. vi. p. 489.]

[x] [A loan was raised in London by the Parliament twice or thrice in the year 1640, upon no better security than "the public faith;" Clarend., bk. iii. vol. i. p. 279, 4to. edit.]

[y] [Declar. before quoted, in Rushw., vol. vi. p. 489. The reference is to the Scotch expedition of 1639.]

[z] [Rushw., vol. v. pp. 370-372:—passed in 1641.]

[a] [Declar. before quoted, in Rushw., vol. vi. p. 489.]

for England and Ireland, and the charge of this war, be satisfied," with caution, "that the army shall not depart till then out of England[b];" that is, until the Day of Judgment. But all the craft is in catching. This is like one
919 of the Pope's donations; it wants the consent of the right owners. Men will fight hard before they be stripped of their livelihoods. Who ever heard, that a conquering sword was capable of any distinction between persons? "*Luculenta fortuna*[c]," a good estate, will be found more dangerous than a different opinion, either in religion or policy. All the favours their English friends can expect, is Polyphemus' courtesy to Ulysses—to be last eaten up[d].

The case being thus, give me leave for one word to your Excellency. "Be of good courage, and let us play the men, for our people, and for the cities of our God." Repel the Syrians, and the Ammonites will soon turn their backs. We may conjecture safely now, where the strength of this Sampson, this great rebellion, hath laid all this while. If the Lord return you again with victory, you shall bring back both a laurel-garland to deck your own temples, and an olive-branch of peace in your hand for our happiness.

I have another word to the auditory. "Be of good courage, and let us play the men, for our people, and for the cities of our God." In this case, I wish to every true Englishman the spirit and affection of that soldier, who having his legs cut off in fight for his country, yet desired to be cast into the breach, that he might dull the edge of one sword more. It is better to die, than survive the honour of our nation; and to suffer these things which are worse than death, schism, slavery, beggary, and whatsoever an insulting enemy can inflict upon a degenerous people. "*Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori*"—"It is a sweet and comely thing for a man to die for his country[e]," and for his religion. "*Quàm gloriosi revertuntur victores de prœlio, quàm beati moriuntur martyres in prœlio*"—"How gloriously they return conquerors from

[b] [This treaty was concluded Nov. 29, 1643. According to the (probably more authentic) copy of it in Rushworth (vol. vi. p. 486), the Scotch were to be paid "out of such lands and estates of the Papists, Prelates, Malignants, and their adherents, as the two Houses of Parliament shall think fit;" and the last clause mentioned in the text does not occur.]

[c] ["Papæ, *divitias* tu quidem habes *luculentas*." Plaut., Rud., V. ii. 33.]

[d] [Odyss., ix. 369, 370.]

[e] [Horat., Carm., III. ii. 13.]

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the battle, or how blessedly they die martyrs in the battle!" if they overcome, they are crowned with a laurel-garland; if they die, with a crown of martyrdom, saith St. Bernard[f].

If we compare our present condition, though heavy through assessments, and some disorders of a necessitous unpaid army, with what it was within the circumvolution of the last year, or little more, when we were blocked up almost on every side, and this city[g], now a pattern of loyalty to the whole kingdom, was even ready to have been made a nest of rebellion, we shall find that we have cause to bless God and the instruments of our safety. Indeed the burdens of the country have been great; but how collected, how distributed, how ordered, all men are not satisfied. This is evident, that those that "have borne the greatest heat and burden of the day," those that have "jeoparded their lives unto death in the high places of the field" for our protection, have had the least share. I say no more, nor would have this construed to the disrepute of any well-deserving patriot.

[Matt. xx. 12.]
[Judg. v. 18.]

"Qui monet ut facias quod jam facis, ipse monendo
"Laudat[h]." . . . . .

A noble Frenchman, in his description of the several interests of these European kingdoms, saith of England, that it is "*magnum animal*"—"a great creature, that cannot be destroyed, but by its own strength." Let us yet hold together, and every one in his own element contribute his uttermost endeavours to the advancement of the public welfare, without all sinister respects; and then I doubt not but we shall both survive this storm, and see sunshine and halcyonian days again in England. Therefore, "Be of good courage, and let us play the men, for our people, and for the cities of our God; and the Lord do that which seemeth Him good."

[f] [S. Bernard., De Laude Nov. Milit. ad Milites Templi, c. i; Op. tom. i. p. 1081. C.]

[g] [Viz. York, where the Marquis of Newcastle had been almost shut up by Fairfax, prior to the great victory upon Atherton Moor, June 30, 1643; subsequently to which Hull alone held out for the Parliament in the North. Rushw., vol. vi. pp. 269, 279.]

[h] [Ovid., Trist., V. xiv. 45, 46.]

DISCOURSE III.

A SERMON,

PREACHED AT DUBLIN, UPON THE 23RD OF APRIL, 1661,

BEING

THE DAY APPOINTED FOR HIS MAJESTY'S CORONATION.

WITH

TWO SPEECHES

MADE IN THE HOUSE OF PEERS THE 11TH OF MAY, 1661,

WHEN

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

PRESENTED THEIR SPEAKER.

BY THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,

PRIMATE AND METROPOLITAN OF ALL IRELAND.

DISCOURSE III.

A SERMON UPON HIS MAJESTY'S RESTORATION.

PSALM cxxvi. 7. [Prayer-book version.]

"*He that now goeth on his way weeping, and beareth* [*forth*] *good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him.*"

FIRST PUBLISHED AT DUBLIN, A.D. 1661.

IN the saddest afflictions and blackest storms that can befal a man in this world, give me leave to make this thankful acknowledgment, there is no companion or comforter like the Psalms of David. He that speaketh experimentally, is the best physician both for soul and body.

Being to speak unto this auditory upon his Majesty's happy restitution, I fitted and fixed my thoughts to the first verse of this Psalm:—"When the Lord turned again the captivity of Sion, then were we like to them that dreamed."

"When the Lord;"—not the Lord Cyrus, in relation to the Jews, though the edict for their restitution came out from him, but the Lord of Cyrus; nor the Lords of Parliament, in relation to us, though they helped to lay the foundation of our present happiness, but the Lord Paramount of Heaven and earth.

"When the Lord turned;"—In God there is "no shadow of turning by change;" but with us there is nothing but "turning," and returning; we are all "turning" shadows upon the old exchange of this world. [James i. 17.]

"When the Lord turned the captivity;"—that is, the

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Babylonish captives, by an ordinary Hebraism. So it is said of Christ; He "led captivity captive;" that is, those who were captives to sin and Satan, He reconquered, and made them to become His own servants. And what were we better than Babylonish captives, while we sojourned in idolatrous and superstitious countries? There are two sorts of captivity, corporal and spiritual; both are bad, but the latter ten times worse. In a corporal captivity, the tyrants are external; but in spiritual captivity, they are internal, in our bosoms and bowels. There the stings are sharp; but nothing so sharp as the stings of a guilty conscience. Corporal tyrants may dispossess us of our wealth, our life, our liberty; but spiritual deprive us of our souls, of God's image, of eternal blessedness. There, one or two members do sinful and slavish offices; but here, all our members are weapons of unrighteousness. Corporal captives have but one master; but spiritual captives have many masters. Pride commands to spend, and covetousness to spare. Nay, the same vice distracts them with contrary commands; as vain-glory forceth them at the same time to soar aloft in the air, and yet to creep beneath upon the earth; to swell inwardly with pride, [and yet] to crouch to the meanest persons to obtain popular applause. Corporal slaves have hope to escape by flight; but in spiritual captivity no flight can help us, unless we could fly away from ourselves. Lastly, corporal captivity doth end with life; death is a perfect cure of all human miseries: but in spiritual captivity, death is but a beginning of slavery, and a shutting of the door of liberty with the key of eternity.

[Rom. vi. 19.]

But can mountains be led away captives? Otherwise, what signifieth "captivity of Sion?" I answer, that as we say, 'there is more of Mont Martre at Paris than there is of Mont Martre at Mont Martre,' so it might be truly said, there was more of Sion carried to Babylon than was left at Sion. First, the Temple, which was the glory of Sion, was demolished. Then, the ceremonies, and sacrifices, and ordinances of Sion were abolished. Thirdly, the holy vessels and garments and other utensils and sacred ornaments were exported. Lastly, the Priests, and Levites, and people of God were all carried away captive. These were the living Sion; without these, Sion was but a dead carcase, of itself. Justly

therefore is the captivity of the people of God called "the captivity of Sion."

"Then were we;"—that is, by way of historical narration;
954 or, "then we shall be," by way of prophetical prediction. Either sense may be admitted.

"Like them that dream;"—that is, like those who are between sleeping and waking. The events were so strange, so unexpected, [so] incredible, that we doubted whether they were real events, or vain fancies and drowsy imaginations. Others translate it, "like those that are comforted[a];" or, "like those that are recovered[b]," from some languishing sickness, and restored to their former strength and vigour.

But whilst I was making a parallel between the Jewish captivity and our English captivity, and of our deliverance and restitution with theirs, I see the flower which I had designed for the subject of my discourse, cropt away before my face. This necessitated me to alter my meditations from the first verse to the last verse of this Psalm. The former was more emphatical for the Jewish captivity; but the latter suits altogether as well with our present condition:—"He that now goeth on his way weeping, and beareth forth good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him."

It is not my manner to amuse my hearers much with various lections or translations. Every language hath its proper idiotisms, or peculiar forms of expression, which differ more in sound than in sense. The worst reading or translation is commonly not so ill, as those clashings and uncharitable alter[c]ations which are about them. Various lections may sometimes bring some light to the understanding, but they shake that Christian faith which is radicated in the heart. 'Break ice in one place, and it will crack in more;' suffer the truth of Sacred Writ to be questioned in a word or a syllable, and you weaken the authority, and lessen the venerable estimation, of the whole text. That which satisfieth me, and may satisfy any good Christian, is this,—that God, Who hath given the Holy Scriptures to His Church, to be the key of His revealed counsels, the anchor of their hope, the evidence

[a] ['Ωσεὶ παρακεκλημένοι. LXX. "Sicut consolati." Vulg.]

[b] [So Hammond, in loc.]

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of their blessedness, will not suffer those Scriptures to be so far corrupted in any thing that is fundamental and necessary, that it can hinder the salvation of His servants. Take this text for an instance, that there is no such danger in various lections or translations, if they be expounded according to the analogy of faith, and that sense of the Scriptures which the Holy Ghost did give to the Church together with the Scriptures.

"He that going goeth[c]," saith the original; "He that goeth on his way[d]," saith our translation; or, "He that goeth forth[e];" —that is, forth of his house to sow, or forth of his country into exile;—"weeping,"—or pensive or sorrowing;—"and beareth forth good seed;"—whether we read "beareth" or "draweth," "good" seed or "precious" seed, or the "sowing" seed, or the "hopper" or "seed basket[f]," is not material;—"shall doubtless come again with joy;"—the original is, "in coming shall come[g]," that is, shall come without fail, shall doubtless come again;—"with joy;"—this word only seemeth to me to be translated over flat, and might be rendered more aptly "with a shout of joy," or, "with joyful acclamations[h]," by allusion to those harvest dances, which they use in many places, when they bring in the last load of their harvest with great pomp, shouts, and acclamations of joy;—"and bring his sheaves with him;"—that is, the increase of his seed, the fruit of his labour, the reward of his patience.

In the words we may observe a double qualification; the former, "he that now goeth on his way weeping," the latter, "and beareth forth good seed:" and a double prognostic; the former, "shall doubtless come again with joy," the latter, "and bring his sheaves with him." We may observe, how 'going forth' and 'coming again,' "weeping" and shouting for "joy," "seed" and "sheaves," do answer one another.

And now that we have seen the sense, let us see how fitly

[c] ["הָלוֹךְ וְלָךְ"]

[d] [Prayer-book version.]

[e] [Bible version.]

[f] ["מֶשֶׁךְ־הַזָּרַע"—The marginal rendering of our Version is "seed-basket." And see Poli Synops. and Hammond in loc. "Tractio seminis" is Gesenius' rendering; i. e. the scattering a line of seed along a furrow.]

[g] ["בֹּאיָבֹא"]

[h] [רנה—It is the word that is rendered in our version "joy," in Ps. xxx. 5; xlii. 4; and elsewhere: and properly signifies "a shrill and tremulous cry." See Gesen. in voce.]

these words do agree to the exile and happy restitution of our sovereign King Charles the Second. First, he 'went on his way;' more like indeed some bode[i], or ordinary messenger, than a great prince. He went forth of England into France, from France to Holland, from Holland after some lesser excursion into Scotland[k] (fishes and guests gain little by long keeping); where, to speak modestly, he was not entertained like the hundred and tenth prince of that family[l]. To give a civil honour to God's vicegerent, was to idolize the creature; but no honour could be too much at the same time for a consistory of their own commissioners. There was nothing to be heard but "the commissioners of Christ," the "tribunal of Christ," the "sceptre of Christ," the "eternal Gospel." Oh partiality, how dost thou blind men's eyes!

955 Before this adventure for Scotland, he had thoughts for Ireland[m]; where the greatest and best part of the kingdom did either profess to hold for him, or desire to return to him. Only two cities did hold out against him, Dublin and Londonderry; and, if my intelligence do not fail me, those expected only his own presence to have submitted with more honour and advantage.

However it was, I did wish, if it had been God's will, that he had come over; that Ireland might have had a signal honour in his restitution then, as it contributed largely afterwards. But God disposeth all things sweetly.

From Scotland he 'went on his way' for England. But "the iniquity of the Amorites" was "not yet full." God had something to do with His rod before He cast it into the fire; something in Jamaica[n], something in Ireland[o], something in Scotland[p], something in England itself[q]: to bring [Gen. xv. 16.]

[i] [BODE (*Dutch*)=messenger.]

[k] [Viz. in June 1650.]

[l] [See above in the Answ. to La Millet. (vol. i. pp. 74-76); Disc. i. Pt. i.]

[m] [Owing to Ormond's success there in the spring of 1649 (Carte, Life of Ormond, bk. v. vol. ii. pp. 62-64).]

[n] [Conquered by Cromwell's fleet under Pen and Venables in 1655.]

[o] [The storm and massacre of Tredagh or Drogheda in September 1649 (see Cromwell's despatch in Whitelocke's Memor., p. 412), and the conquest of Ireland by Cromwell which followed, completed by Ireton's siege and capture of Limerick in Oct. 1651, and that of Galway by Sir C. Coote in May 1652 (Carte, Life of Ormond, bk. v. pp. 154, 156).]

[p] [The battle of Dunbar Sept. 3, 1650, and the general reduction of that kingdom under the government of Cromwell, which followed.]

[q] [The expedition into England which ended with the battle of Worcester, Sept. 3, 1651.]

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the first contrivers of our miseries to shame and condign punishment by their own power, to prepare and facilitate a way for his Majesty's restitution without effusion of blood. God hath more noble means and fitter opportunities to effect His own designs, than man can comprehend. "We praise Thee, O God, we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord." That English voyage, though otherwise unsuccessful, was a happy presage of this great blessing, which we now enjoy;—that God, Who preserved his Majesty so miraculously then, had some great work to do with him. From England he returned to France, from France to Germany, from Germany to Flanders, and from Flanders to France back again, thence to Spain, thence to Flanders, thence to Holland, and so for England; where so long, and long, and long may his crown flourish. Was ever sovereign prince so tossed to and fro, and bandied hither and thither by the rackets of a contrary fortune? changing his stations as often as the old Patriarchs did, whilst they dwelt in tents. This was no comfortable life, to be always rolling up and down: which the next word in my text implies, that is, "weeping;"—"He that goeth on his way weeping."

[Te Deum.]

I may say of "weeping," as our learned countryman the Lord Verulam said of hope, that it was "a good breakfast but an ill supper[r]." Early tears, like the mist descending, prognosticate a fair serene day; as April showers bring forth May flowers. They who prove Benjamins, "sons of the right hand," are commonly first Benonies, "sons of sorrow." Christ Himself did wear a crown of thorns, before He obtained a crown of glory. Joseph was first clapt up close in a dungeon, where he saw neither sun nor moon nor stars for a season, before the sun, moon, and stars did fall down and worship him. No man can rationally doubt, whether our dread sovereign did "sow in tears," before he "reaped in joy;" who considers sadly, what a misery it is for a great king, to be banished from all his relations, to be thrust out of his native country and hereditary kingdoms into the merciless world, to live in want. A French author of good note relates with pity and commiseration the deplorable condition of the Lancastrian family, being of the blood royal of Eng-

[Gen. xxxv. 18.] [Matt. xxvii. 29, &c.] [Gen. xxxvii. 9; xxxix. 20; xlii. 6; xliii. 26.]

[r] [Apophthegms, num. 95; Works, vol. iii. p. 272. fol. 1740.]

land, in the court of Charles Duke of Burgundy[s];—that whereas God and nature had provided so bountifully for all other creatures, the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field, that they never feared the want of food, only men the best of creatures, and princes the best of men, should sometimes not know where to find sustenance for to-morrow. A man may justly fear want of money, or want of means, or want of friends; but want of sorrows and tears he need not fear. Foreign kindred and allies do seldom contribute much to the wiping away of these tears. Like winter-brooks, they swell with kindness when one hath no need of them, but when they should be useful, they are dried up. And he that trusts unto them, may expect St. Peter's lot; when his nets were full, he needed but to beckon to his fellows, and presently they were all at his elbow; but when he did sing his "*lachrymæ*," he had not one of them to comfort him. Every one is a kinsman to him that is prosperous, but a friend in need is a friend indeed. DISCOURSE III. [Job vi. 15-20.] [Luke v. 4-7.]

And truly, when I compare our necessary expenses in the long time of our banishment abroad with our comings in, I cannot attribute our preservation so long to any thing but to a secret blessing of Almighty God. He that fed the Israelites with manna in a barren wilderness, and preserved their shoes and their raiment from wearing and waxing old; He that fed Elijah by ravens; He that blessed the poor widow's handful of meal, and her cruise of oil; will not suffer His servants to die for hunger. [Exod. xvi. 14-16.] [Deut. viii. 4.] [1 Kings xvii. 4, 6.] [1 Kings xvii. 10-16.]

But the cares and troubles of princes are incomparably
956 greater, and their wants more pinching, than those of private persons. Their motto may be the candle burning with four letters, A. S. M. C., "*Aliis serviens meipsum contero*"—"In serving others I waste away myself." Their cares extend to all their followers, to provide for their necessities as well as for their own. The sufferings of all their subjects and relations do touch them more nearly than others. Thoughts "troubled" Nebuchadnezzar's head, whilst his subjects slept securely upon either ear. When the preacher hath but fallen upon the martyrdom of our late sovereign, or those instruc- [Dan. iv. 5.]

[s] [Philip de Comines, Mémoires, liv. iii. c. 4.]

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tions which he left behind him[t], how have I seen his Majesty dissolve into tears; that brought to my mind that of St. Austin, "*Proruperunt flumina oculorum meorum acceptabile tuum sacrificium*"—"The floods of mine eyes did break forth an acceptable sacrifice unto Thee, O God[u]." This is the first qualification, "He that goeth on his way weeping."

The second follows, "And bringeth forth good seed." It [Gal. vi. 7.] is a metaphor taken from sowers. "What a man sows, that he" may certainly expect to "reap." But what is the good seed which our sovereign did bear forth with him?

I answer, first, a good title; "*Dieu et son droit*"—"God and his right." There is a mushroom error lately crept into the world, and almost thrust out again; that dominion is founded in grace, not in nature; that the wicked have no interest in their possessions or estates, but are like moths, which make their houses in other men's garments; that all things [1 Cor. iii. 21-23.] belong properly to the elect; "Paul, Apollos, Cephas, . . things present, things to come, all are" theirs, if they be "Christ's." "*Ex his præmissis necessariò sequitur collusio.*" [Exod. xii. 35, 36.] Admit this once; and then they who take themselves to be true Israelites, may with a good conscience rob and plunder the profane Egyptians of this world. Nothing is more hidden than true grace. We know it not in another, hardly in ourselves. Therefore, if grace should give an interest to possessions, no man's title should be certain; from whence of necessity must follow an incredible confusion. But our [1 Cor. xiv. 33.] God is a God of order. Religion neither alters, nor takes away, any man's right. Ananias was no saint: yet St. [Acts v. 4.] Peter told him, that he had a good interest in his estate;—"was it not thine own?" The truth is, dominion is founded in nature, not in grace. It was said to our first parents, [Gen. i. 28.] immediately upon the Creation, "Replenish the earth" and "have dominion," &c. Every son of Adam may challenge an interest in his own estate by virtue of this concession. [1 Cor. iii. 21.] "All is yours," saith the Scripture; that is, not every individual creature, but every species or kind of creatures. "All is yours;" that is, not by way of civil possession, but by Divine ordination. All things, by God's disposition, serve

[t] [Scil. in the Εἰκὼν βασιλική.] § 28; Op. tom. i. p. 156. A.]
[u] [S. Aug., Confess., lib. viii. c. 12,

for the good of the Church, and help forward the salvation of God's servants. Or, "All is yours, and you are Christ's;" that is, you only who are Christ's, have the sanctified use of the creatures. This is far enough from a civil possession, far enough from a just title; such as King Charles had, not grounded upon a fanatic exposition of a text of Holy Scripture, nor upon the fickle humours of a giddy multitude, nor upon the traitorous dictates of a seditious orator, but upon the evident laws of God, of nature, of nations, and the municipal laws of these kingdoms, upon a radicated succession from royal progenitors, he himself being the hundred and tenth person of one family, who hath swayed the sceptre[x]. I do not know any prince in Europe, or in these parts of the world, that can say the same. A title so clear, as if it were "written with a beam of the sun[y];" which no true Englishman in his right wits did ever yet oppose, but one or two foreign pensioners[z], maintained on purpose abroad to kindle scathfires at home, who gained nothing by the question but to render themselves ridiculous. This was the "good seed," which King Charles did "bear forth" with him, a good title; which though it seemed for a time to perish under the clods, yet we see it sprouts up again. A tempest brings Achilles his arms to Ajax's tomb, to reverse an unjust sentence: and Aaron's rod devoured the rods of the enchanters, to the comfort of all loyal subjects, and the confusion of all Egyptian jugglers, for ever. This is the first "good seed," which King Charles did "bear forth" with him;—a good title.

[1 Cor. iii. 22, 23.]

[Exod. vii. 12.]

A second sort of "good seed," which King Charles did "bear forth" with him, was the testimony of a good "conscience, void of offence towards God and towards man." A good conscience is a better proof of innocence than a thousand witnesses, and will make itself a garland of the lying reports of sycophants. When King Charles was first chased out of England, his age was not capable of much guilt; and his only crime was (that which in truth was his chiefest

[Acts xxiv. 16.]

[x] [According to Buchanan, Rer. Scot. Hist., lib. xviii. in fin. See above in vol. i. p. 74. note z.]

[y] ["Solis radio scriptum." Tertullian, De Resurr. Carnis, c. 47; Op. p. 416. A.]

[z] [The allusion appears to be to Parsons the Jesuit, who under the name of Doleman published a book in 1594 to prove the Infanta of Spain right heir to the throne of England, entitled "A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crown of England, printed at N."]

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glory), he was the son of such a father. Those accursed 957
jealousies and fears, which the first devisers and spreaders of them did know assuredly to be damnable lies, are now vanished. Truth, the daughter of time, hath discovered them to all the world to have been counterfeit shows. They feared an apostacy to Popery; yet King Charles the father died a glorious martyr[a], and King Charles [the] son lives a noble confessor[b], of the true faith professed in the Church of England, having shewed evidently by a thousand proofs, that he is no such "reed shaken with the wind." They complained of tyranny against him, whose only defect was overmuch goodness and lenity. Let their High Courts of Injustice speak, let their black roll of sequestrators and committee men speak, let all the great towns in England (which they made shambles of good Christians, and loyal subjects) speak, let Tredagh[c] speak, and that torrent of loyal blood, which was poured out there barbarously upon cold and deliberate thoughts like water upon the face of the earth,—who were the tyrants. Caius the Emperor, out of a ridiculous affectation to make himself like the Gods, did assume Mercury's rod, Apollo's bow and arrows, Mars his sword and shield[d]. But King Charles hath ever better ensigns of the Deity, justice, mercy, piety, and temperance. These make up the image of God. Where these abound, the bird in the breast sings sweetly. He who hath these, may with comfort expect a happy deliverance from all his troubles. "He that goeth on his way weeping, and beareth forth" this "seed with him, shall doubtless come again with joy."

[Matt. xi. 7. —Luke vii. 24.]

The third sort of "good seed," which King Charles did

[a] [See above in the Answ. to La Millet. (vol. i. p. 78); and in the Vindic. of Episcopal. against Baxter, c. iii. (vol. iii. pp. 525-528): Disc. i. Pt. i. and iii. Pt. ii.]

[b] [The papers published by James II. in 1685 ("A True Relation of the Late King's Death; to which are added Copies of Two Papers written by the late King Charles II. of Blessed Memory, Found in the Strong-box"), which prove Charles's change of belief, may be found in the Phœnix, vol. i. pp. 566-570; and in part, in vol. v. pp. 42-44. of the Harleian Miscellany. The date of the change it is of course, from the nature of the case, impossible to fix. In the Phœnix (ibid. pp. 554-565) are also published "Certain Letters evidencing K. Charles II.'s Stedfastness in the Protestant Religion, sent from the Princess of Turenne and the Ministers of Charenton to Some Persons of Quality in London," in 1660, and first published in the same year; which prove nothing more than Bramhall's assertions in the text, and in his Answer to La Milletiére, unless indeed that the King's "stedfastness" was even then suspected.]

[c] [i. e. Drogheda.]

[d] [Sueton., in Caio, c. 52.—Dio Cass., lib. lix. p. 660. ed. Leunclav.]

"bear forth" with him, was a good religion. A religion, not reformed tumultuously, according to the brain-sick fancies of a half-witted multitude, dancing after the pipe of some seducing charmer, but soberly, according to the rule of God's Word, as it hath been evermore and every where interpreted by the Catholic Church, and according to the purest pattern of the primitive times. A religion, against which the greatest adversaries thereof have no exception, but that it preferreth grace before nature, the written Word before uncertain traditions, and the all-sufficient Blood of Jesus Christ before the stained works of mortal men. A religion, which is neither garish with superfluous ceremonies, nor yet sluttish and void of all order, decency, and majesty in the service of God. A religion, which is as careful to retain old articles of faith, as it is averse from new articles;—the essences of all things do consist '*in indivisibili*;' faith is adulterated, as well by the addition of new articles, as by the substraction of old. [A] religion, which is not like to perish for want of fit organs, like those imperfect creatures produced by the sun upon the banks of Nilus[e], but shaped for continuance. The terror of Rome:—they fear our moderation more than the violent opposition of others. The watch tower of the Evangelical Churches:—I have seen many Churches of all sorts of communions, but never any, that could diminish that venerable estimation, which I had for my mother, the Church of England. From her breasts I received my first nourishment, in her arms I desire to end my days. "Blessed be he that blesseth" her. This "good seed," that is, the religion of the Church of England, King Charles did "bear forth" with him. This he brought home with him, without turning either to the right hand or to the left. And like the laurel tree (the tree of conquerors), he gathered strength and vigour even from opposition. "*Crescit sub pondere virtus.*"

[Gen. xxvii. 29.—Numb. xxiv. 9.]

I cannot deny but that some of us have "started aside like broken bows:" out of despair in this their bitter trial, wherein they have had their goods plundered, their estates sequestered, their persons imprisoned, their churches aliened; wherein they have been divorced from their nearest relation, and disabled to discharge the duties of their callings to God;

[Ps. lxxviii. 58. Prayer-book Vers.]

[e] [Pompon. Mela, lib. i. c. 10.]

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wherein some of them have been slaughtered, others forced to maintain themselves by mechanic labours, others thrust out of their native countries, to wander like vagabonds and exiled beggars up and down the merciless world. But, God be praised, they are not many. If we compare this with any the like persecution in Europe, you shall never find that so few apostated. As if they had been inspired with the free spirit of St. Chrysostom;—"Will they banish me? 'the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof': if they cast me into the sea, I will remember Jonas; if into a fiery furnace, the three children; if among the wild beasts, Daniel; if they stone me, I have St. Stephen for my companion; if they behead me, John Baptist; if they plunder me, 'naked I 958 came out of my mother's womb, and naked must I return again[f].'" Or with the heroical mind of St. Ambrose,—"*Vultisne ad vincula me abripere? voluptas est mihi,*" &c.—"Will ye hale me to prison? it is a delight unto me; to death? I will not incircle myself with a guard of trusty followers, nor lay hold on the altars as a suppliant to save my life, but will be freely offered up for the altars" of my God[g]. Spices being brayed in a mortar smell more sweetly; so these servants of Christ, being beaten and bruised by persecutors, do yield a more fragrant odour in the nostrils of God and man. The ground of their constancy, next to the goodness of God, was the example of our dread sovereign his courage and perseverance. The example of a great prince is like the great wheel of a clock, which sets all the lesser wheels a going. This shall one day crown his temples with a diadem, more bright than the beams of the sun, as far excelling that crown which he is to receive this day, as the radiant splendour of the sun doth exceed the dim shining of a glow-worm. Then if Tully, a heathen, could say, that the Romans did owe their victories and good successes more to their religious piety than either to their number or strength or policy[h], why should Christians despair, or doubt, that King Charles, who "went on his way weeping, and did bear forth" such "pre-

[Ps. xxiv. 1; l. 12.—1 Cor. x. 26, 28.] [Jon. i. 15.—Dan. iii. 8-27; vi. 16-24.—Acts vii. 59, 60.—Matt. xiv. 10, &c.—Job i. 21.]

[f] [S. Chrys., Epist. 143, Op. tom. vii. p. 169. ll. 17-25. ed. Savil.;—Epist. 125, tom. iii. p. 668. C, D. ed. Montfauc.—written by St. Chrysostom when in exile, to a Bishop Cyriac, also in exile.]

[g] [S. Ambros., Epist. xx. § 8, Ad Soror.; Op. tom. ii. p. 854. C.]

[h] [De Harusp. Respons., c. 9.]

cious seed" with him, should "come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him?"

The last sort of "good seed," which King Charles did "bear forth" with him, was the prayers and good affections of his subjects. Tyrants might deprive him of his other contributions, this they could not deprive him of. If St. Austin[i] did attribute so much to the prayers and tears of his mother Monica, what might not be hoped from the prayers and tears of so many thousands, poured out to God in private, for their king and country, Church and commonwealth, liberty and religion? At a German Diet the princes fell upon a controversy, which of them had the best country. The Palatine commended his, for the fruitful soil; the Saxon his, for the silver mines; the Bavarian his, for stately cities; the Duke of Wittenberg, in praise of his country, said only this, that he durst lay his head in the lap of any subject throughout his dominions, either by day or by night[k]. *"Fortunati ambo"*—a happy prince of a happy people, where that "evil spirit" had not walked, which set dissension between Abimelech and the men of Sichem. [Judg. ix. 23.] England was not always so happy; whom some counterfeit physicians (like the wolf in the fable) persuaded against her own sense, that she was sick to death, without all kind of recovery, unless she would put herself into their hands to be cured. She did so. And what the issue had been, if God Almighty had not looked down upon us from Heaven with an eye of pity, we have seen. Yet this was but a green-sickness fit. When that fit was over, she threw away her chalk and coals, which she had eaten in corners, and returned to eat more healthful food at her father's table[l]. Or it was a short fit of madness;—"O Phocion" (said Demades), "look to thyself, when the Athenians fall into their mad fits. And thou Demades" (replied Phocion), "look to thyself, when they return to their right wits[m]." But, God be praised, even whilst this epidemical distemper did rage the most, there were not only seven [1 Kings xix. 18.]

[i] [Aug., Confess., lib. iii. c. 12; Op. tom. i. p. 96. F.]

[k] [The story is told of Eberhard I. Duke of Wirtemberg, in Crusius, Annal. Suev., P. III. lib. vii. c. 14; tom. ii. p. 411. fol. Francof. 1596.]

[l] [Plut., Polit. Præcept., c. iv.; Op. Moral. tom. iv. p. 148. ed. Wyttenb.]

[m] [Id., in Vitâ Phocion., tom. iv. p. 184. ed. Bryant: and Apophth. Reg. &c., Phoc. num. vi.; Op. Moral. tom. i. p. 523. ed. Wyttenb. "Demades" in the text is a mistake for Demosthenes.]

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thousand in England, but seventy times seven thousand, who never bowed their knees to Baal Berith, the God of the Covenant, but continued loyal subjects and orthodox Christians, and were not afraid (with the serpent) to expose their bodies to the blows, and their estates to be a prey to their persecutors, that they might save their Head; first, their spiritual Head, that is, Christ; secondly, their political Head, that is, their sovereign prince; and, lastly, their ecclesiastical Head, or lawful superiors in the Church. These were the true Israelites, who wrestled with God by their prayers, and prevailed.

[Gen. xxxii. 24-28.—Rom. ix. 6.—&c.]

I have done with the second qualification—"and beareth forth good seed." I come now to the catastrophe;—"Shall doubtless come again with joy."

Every word in my text proclaims, that there is an interchangeable vicissitude of all human affairs. Here we have "going forth" and "coming again," "weeping" and "acclamations of joy," sowing and reaping, "seed" and "sheaves." "He that goeth on his way weeping, and beareth forth good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him." That of Solomon,—"There is a time for every thing, . . a time to plant, and a time to pluck up, . . a time to build, and a time to pull down,"—holds in cities and public societies, as well as private families; and they may set the moon upon their gates, as well as the old Romans did upon their shoes, to put them in mind of the unstability of this world. One is, another was, and a third shall be; even as it pleaseth God, in Whose hand there is a chain to lift them up or let them down at His pleasure. The greatest monarchs and monarchies in the world, in comparison of Him, are but "*guttæ roris antelucani*"—"drops of morning dew," quickly dried up with the heat of the sun, or easily dispersed with the least puff of wind. All places have their days and nights, their summers and winters, their sun-shine and storms. No sublunary thing is stable. The sun hath its eclipses, the moon hath its waxings and wanings, the sea hath its ebbings and flowings, the elements their successive changes. Peace and war, sickness and health, plenty and dearth, do succeed one another. The whole world is a restless whirligig, running violently, sometimes this way, some-

[Eccl. iii. 1-3.]

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times that way; a reed, shaken hither and thither with every puff of wind; a tottering quagmire, whereupon it is impossible to lay a sure foundation; like a sick man, that can take no rest in his bed, but is continually tossing and turning from side to side.

St. Paul doth describe our right image, in two metaphors; —"that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine." The former metaphor is taken from little children. You may draw a child any whither, from his duty, from his interest, from his engagements, with a fair word, or an apple, or some new-fangled toy, or fear of some bugbear, or promises of golden mountains. So we, like children, are easily led into a fool's paradise, not with apples of Eden, but with apples of Sodom[n], which turn to dust when they come to be enjoyed. The other metaphor is taken from a ship lying at hull[o], "tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind;" even so do we fluctuate between the broken waves and contrary billows of different opinions and desires. Eph. iv. 14.

Thus we are changeable in our minds, but we are as changeable in our estates. Now we abound with wealth. God knows, how soon the best of us may be necessitated to beg a halfpenny of passengers, with great Belisarius[p]. Now every man's tongue is a silver trumpet to sound out our praises, which perhaps deserve not to be piped upon an oaten reed. God knows, how soon this "*Hosanna*" may be changed to "*Crucifige,*" and we be loaden with more unjust calumnies, than ever was blessed Athanasius[q]. Now we enjoy the sweet sauce of all temporal blessings, that is, health. God knows, how soon sickness may cast us upon our restless beds, and change our sweet repose into wearisome tossings. God knows, how soon we may be choaked with the fumes of a vitious stomach, or drowned with hydropical humours, or burnt up with choleric distempers, or buried alive in the grave of melancholic imaginations. Now we sit in the beauty [Matt. xxi. 9; xxvii. 22, 23. &c.]

[n] [Tacit., Hist., v. 7:—Joseph., De Bell. Jud., lib. iv. c. 8. § 4; tom. ii. p. 1195. ed. Hudson. See Milton, Parad. Lost, x. 560-570.]

[o] [See above in vol. iv. p. 506. note d; and p. 592.]

[p] [See Gibbon, c. xliii. note 69: vol. iv. pp. 318, 319. 4to. edition. The story is given up as a fable.]

[q] [See Tillemont, Mémoires, tom. viii.: Vie de S. Athanase, articles 8, 11, 18, 20. &c.]

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of peace, every man under his own vine and his own fig-tree. We know not, how soon our ringing of bells may be changed to roaring of cannons. It is the mercy of the Lord, that these mischiefs do not overwhelm us.

This vicissitude of human affairs is necessary to the being of the world. Beasts would multiply without number, if none were brought to the shambles. Fishes would fill the sea, and fowls the air, if the greater did not devour the less, and both serve for the use of man. By nature we are born thicker into the world, than we die out of the world; every age builds cities, towns, villages: so as, if God did not sometimes thrust in the sickle of His justice into the overrank field of this world, and sweep away whole multitudes by war or famine or pestilence, two worlds could not contain us, ten worlds could not nourish us.

If any place would have pleaded a privilege to exempt itself from this changeable vicissitude, what rather than [Matt.xxiv. 2.—Mark xiii. 2.—Luke xix. 44; xxi. 6.] Hierusalem? Yet it had not one stone left upon another. Or Capernaum, whose magnificent buildings were lifted up to Heaven? Yet it was cast down to Hell. Pliny and Strabo [Matt. xi. 23.] write wonders of the walls of Babylon[r]; yet now it is be- [Isai. xiii. 21.] come a place for "owls to screech" in, and for "satyrs to dance" in. And now grass grows where once Troy stood. Alas! wherein can any city or society place their confidence, to protect them from this common vicissitude? In navies or armadoes? How easily may they be cast away, or dashed in [1 Kings xxii. 48.] pieces against the rocks: as the ships of Jehoshaphat were at Ezion-geber. Or in walls and fortifications? When the walls [Josh. vii. 4, 5, 20.] of Hiericho fell down at the sound of rams' horns, and the shout of an enemy. Or in prudent politicians? When God can infatuate the wisdom of the wise, and turn all their [2 Sam. xvii. 1-24.] counsels into folly, as He did the counsels of Achitophel. Or in numerous armies of experienced soldiers? When He can 960 [Lev. xxvi. 8.—Josh. xxiii. 10.] fill their hearts with panical fears, so that ten shall chase a hundred. Or in leagues and confederacies? When He [Isai. ix. 21.] can set "Ephraim against Manasses, and Manasses against Ephraim, and both against Judah." Navies, armies, garrisons, counsellors, confederates, are no more able to prevent

[r] [Plin., Nat. Hist., vi. 30.—Strabo, Rer. Geogr., lib. xvi. tom. ii. pp. 1048, 1049. Oxon. 1807.]

this common vicissitude of all human affairs, than a shield of paper to resist the shot of a cannon.

First then, seeing that by the ordinance of God there is such a necessary vicissitude of all things, let us not think vainly to translate this valley of tears into a paradise of perpetual bliss, or to clip the wings of prosperity, that it should never fly away. Eve called her eldest son Cain—a "possession," and he proved a vagabond. Then, as skilful pilots, whilst the season is calmest, do provide for a storm, and as good soldiers do keep a vigilant centry in the time of truce; so, when we "have enough," let us "remember the time of hunger, and when" we are "rich, think upon poverty and need." When we are at home in peace, let us think upon those times, when "we hanged our harps upon the willows by the rivers of Babylon." Fear the worst, and the best will save itself. Darts that are foreseen, seldom do any great hurt. Above all, take heed that thou never "boast of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth."

Eccles. xviii. 25.

[Psalm cxxxviii. 1.]

[Prov. xxvii. 1.]

Secondly, since there is such a vicissitude of all human affairs, why should any man murmur or repine at his present condition? The murmuring speeches of men are like arrows shot up in defiance against Heaven, which always fall down again upon their own heads. "Should we receive good at the hand of God, and not evil?" Who can say, that his sufferings are equal to his sins? God rewardeth many beyond desert, but He never punisheth any beyond desert. I know, that the Saints themselves are involved in national judgments, as well as others; as Jeremy, Ezekiel, Daniel, in the captivity: but it was a blessing to them, not a punishment. As it were madness for a boatman to think, that by the strength of his arm and cable he was able to draw the main rock to his little boat, and not to pull himself and his little boat to the main rock; so it were a mere folly for any man to think, that by his struggling against the stream of human affairs, he should be able to change the course of the world, and to make it pliant to his desires. It is both pious and prudent to think that to be evermore best for us, which God sends.

[Job ii. 10.]

Thirdly, since human affairs are so mutable, no extremity should make us despair. When the bricks are doubled, when

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our miseries are at the highest, when all the help of man doth seem to fail us, then comes Moses to deliver us. When Pharaoh's butler had forgotten Joseph, then God remembered him. A usurer will trust a bankrupt upon a pawn; and shall not we trust God Almighty with our deliverance, unless He give us a pawn for performance of His word? Remember that judgment which fell upon the Samaritan lord for his infidelity;—"Though the Lord" (said he) "should make windows in heaven, could this thing be?" The Lord did not make windows in heaven, yet that thing was, and came to pass at the time prefixed, but he lived not to enjoy the benefit of it. God hath unimaginable ways to bring His own designs to effect, as we see with wonder and admiration this day. Thus, as the woman of Canaan did pick comfort out of the name of "dog," so we may gather hope out of the vanity and vicissitude of all sublunary things. After darkness we may hope for light, after a tempest for a calm, after wearisome tossings for sweet repose. When the storm is weathered, and the black clouds overblown, which darkened the face of the sky, and seemed to take possession of the whole region of the air, and to pierce the very heavens, suddenly behold a vicissitude. As no prosperity is permanent, so no adversity is perpetual. After exile comes a country, after seed-time comes harvest, and after weeping comes joy. "He that now goeth on his way weeping, and beareth forth good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy."

[Exod. v.] [Gen. xl. 23.] [2 Kings vii. 2, 17-20.] [Matt. xv. 26, 27.—Mark vii. 27, 28.]

I told you before, that our translation, which renders it only "joy," seems to me over flat, and short of the original, which signifies a "shout," or "acclamation of joy;" such as harvest-men do use when they bring home their harvest-dame, or the last load of their summer's crop, with music, and feasting, and shouting. If ever this was verified in any exiled prince, who had gone forth "weeping," and "came again with joy" to his kingdom and native country, it was verified in King Charles at his happy restitution, and entrance into his royal city. I have seen high expressions of joy in foreign parts upon the like occasion. I see when the King of France that now is, returned to his city of Paris, after he had been thrust out of it by his own subjects[s]. But 961

[s] [Louis XIV. returned to Paris in triumph, accompanied by Charles II.,

such loud acclamations, such universal expressions of joy, I did never see or hear, as were then made to welcome in King Charles: that, as a Father said hyperbolically of the sin of Adam, that it was "a happy fault which obtained such a Redeemer[t]," so we may say in the same sense (and no other), that it was a happy exclusion which produced such a restitution.

There remains only one word yet untouched in this part of my text, that is, "doubtless;"—"shall *doubtless* come again with joy." What then? Is it so undoubted a truth, that every one who is thrust out of his right here, shall be restored with such joyful acclamations? O no. God's judgments in this life are imperfect, and the dispensations of them are inscrutable. "*In rebus Divinis magna est caligo*"—"there is a great mist in the ways of God." God's temporal promises ought to be understood with an exception of the cross;—unless He see it to be otherwise expedient for the advancement of His own glory, and the eternal good of His servants. God punisheth some sinners here, to shew there is a just Judge; and leaves others unpunished, to shew there is a Judgment to come. This truth is affirmed expressly by Solomon;—"All things have I seen in the days of [my] vanity; there is a just man that perisheth in his righteousness, and a wicked man that prolongeth his life in his wickedness." And if we had not plain Scripture for it, the example of our late dread sovereign King Charles the First, was proof sufficient; who was murdered by his own subjects (that had sworn allegiance to him), in his capital city, before the gates of his own palace, in the sight of his own people, in the face of the sun, under a formality of justice. God did see all this then, and doth now require it[u]; require it here in part,

Eccl. vii. 15.

October 21, 1651, after his expulsion thence by the Prince of Condé and the Fronde. That Bramhall was that year in Paris, see above in vol. i. p. xi. note u.]

[t] ["O felix culpa quæ tantum et talem meruit Redemptorem."—From the hymn sung at the Benediction of the Wax Tapers upon Easter Eve in the Roman Church (Missal., p. 169), which is said to have been written by Gregory the Great. See Ussher, Answ. to a Jesuit, p. 553. ed. 1631; and the tract of Jodocus Clicthoveus, De Necessitate Peccati Adæ et Fœlicitate Peccati Ejusdem Apologetica Disceptatio (Paris, 4to. 1519), quoted by Ussher, which is an explanatory defence of this and the clause immediately preceding it in the same hymn.]

[u] [The trial and execution of the regicides took place in October 1660 (White Kennet's Register, pp. 272, sq.). This sermon was preached April 23, 1661.]

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but will require it hereafter to "the uttermost farthing;" from all those who had an hand in that crying parricide, and have not, or shall not, wash away the guilt with unfeigned tears. That happy Martyr is now following the Lamb in his whites, and "reaps in joy" what he did "sow in tears;" and his son is this day crowned with his royal diadem, with the shouts and acclamations of his subjects. So true is that of my text, that either here, or hereafter, or both, "he that goeth on his way weeping, and beareth forth good seed with him, shall doubtless come again with acclamations of joy, and bring his sheaves with him."

[Matt. v. 26.]

[Rev. vii. 9; xix. 8.]

This brings me to the last clause of my text,—"And bring his sheaves with him." This life is a seed time. Whatsoever we sow here, we are sure to reap hereafter, even to a glass of cold water: as surely as when thou seest a man casting seed out of a hopper, thou mayest foretell what shall be the crop. The seed and the sheaves cannot choose but be the same grain. Only the sheaves are seed multiplied, it may be thirty-fold, it may be sixty-fold, it may be a hundred-fold. So sheaves do signify all those advantages which we reap by his Majesty's restitution.

[Matt. x. 42.]

[Matt. xiii. 8.]

The first sheaf is peace. The nearer that societies approach to unity, the further they are from fear of dissolution. When the Romans did find themselves in any great peril, they ever submitted themselves to one dictator, as a sacred anchor, and sure remedy to take away their divisions. His Majesty hath not only stopped up the spring of all our divisions by his just title, but hath purchased our peace by parting with his own just rights, to satisfy the interests of all parties[v]. Let his example be our pattern,—to do whatsoever we can with justice for the public peace, although it be to our own private prejudice. The Pythagoreans had a rule, to leave no print of the bottom of the cup in the ashes[x]; that is, in reconciliation to retain no resentment of former quarrels. The divided sides of a wound do meet together in a scar.

[v] [Charles II., after a variety of expedients suggested and abandoned, parted with all forfeitures to the Crown in Ireland, by his Declaration of Nov. 30, 1660, in order to reinstate the Royalists in their property without injury to the Adventurers, or to such other possessors as had by various circumstances acquired a fair right to compensation. See Carte, Life of Ormond, bk. vi. vol. ii. pp. 215-217.]

[x] [Plut., Symposiac., lib. viii. Qu. 7. c. 4; Op. Moral., tom. ii. p. 692.]

And strange plants, by inoculation, do become one tree. It were hard, that quarrels should be immortal, or more durable than nature; or that the passions of the mind should be more malignant and difficult to be closed, than the wounds or ulcers of the body; and that no way should be left to unite the divided members of Christ. Doth God delight as much in the observation or not observation of indifferent ceremonies, as He doth in the love and unity of brethren, and just obedience to lawful superiors[y]? Or is it His will, that for a few innocent rites established by law, kingdoms should swim with blood, monarchies be turned upside down, and innocent Christians be brought to utter beggary? It is a
962 folly to dote so upon the body, as to cherish the sores and ulcers thereof; or, out of hatred to the ulcers, to destroy the body. The not distinguishing between the essences and abuse[s] of particular Churches, hath been the cause of all our miseries. This is the first sheaf which King Charles brings with him, that is, peace.

The second sheaf is the opening of our Courts, the restoring of our laws to their vigour, and the establishment of justice among us. What a wretched condition was this poor kingdom in, which neither had Court open, nor Sheriff legally appointed, nor so much as a Justice of Peace for so long time together. It was the mercy of God, that the policy and frame of this kingdom was not utterly destroyed, and brought to confusion. The law is like the wrest of a musical instrument, which puts the jarring string in tune. It is the balance of the commonwealth, which gives the same weight to gold and lead; the rule and square of justice, the standard and measure of the kingdom, the foundation of liberty, the fountain of equity, the life and soul of policy. Parents may leave a patrimony to their children, but the law preserves it. Arms may conquer kingdoms, but laws establish them. A city may be safe without walls, but never without laws. That we eat and sleep in quiet, that our houses are not fired over our heads, nor our daughters deflowered before our eyes, it is the benefit of the laws; without which we should bite and devour one another, "as the greater fishes do the less[z]." This

[y] [Compare the account given of Bramhall's conduct at this period in his Life, vol. i. of the present edition, p. xii.; and note R. ibid., p. xxiv.]

[z] ["Pisces ut sæpe minutos Magnu' comest; ut aves enecat accipiter."

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is the second sheaf which King Charles brought with him, that is, the laws.

Eccl. x. 16. A third sheaf is experience. "Wo be to thee, O land, when thy king is a child;" that is, a child in understanding [1 Kings xii. 6-19.] and experience. The inexperience of Rehoboam and his young counsellors quickly destroyed the kingdom. We use to say, a new physician must have a new churchyard. A new physician is not more dangerous to the body, than a new politician to the state. It is written of Darius, that in opening a fair pomegranate, one demanded of him, of what thing he desired so many as there were kernels in that pomegranate. He replied, so many Zopyrus's, that is, prudent and experienced counsellors[a]. God be praised, our Darius may be a Zopyrus to himself; having had that advantage which none of his predecessors ever had, to have viewed with his own eyes the chiefest of his neighbours' courts, kingdoms, and commonwealths, their interests, their laws, and forms of government, their strength and weakness, their advantages and disadvantages, both in war and peace; things of excellent use to a prince. And this may well pass for a third sheaf:—"And shall bring his sheaves with him."

A fourth sheaf, and the last which I shall mention at this time, is security. Usurpers are always full of jealousies and Wisd. vii. 11. fears. The reason is evident:—"Wickedness, condemned by her own testimony, is very timorous; and being pressed with conscience, always forecasteth grievous things." It was observed of Richard the Third, that after he had murdered his nephews, and usurped the crown, he wore his hand continually upon his dagger[b]: a plain sign of inward guilt. [Matt. ii. 2, 3.] When the wise men made this demand, "Where is He that is born King of the Jews[c]," Herod "was troubled and all Hierusalem with him."

> "Successor instat, pellimur;
> "Satelles i, ferrum rape,
> "Perfunde cunas sanguine[c]."—

"A successor is come, we are chased away; go, soldiers,

Varro, ap. Non. Marcell., De Honestis et Nove Veterum Dictis, sub voce "Comest."]

[a] [Plut., Apophth. Reg., Op. Moral., tom. i. p. 481.]

[b] [Holinshead, Chron., vol. iii. p. 735.]

[c] [Prudent., Cathemer., Hymn. xii. De Epiphaniâ, 98-100.]

catch your swords, and make the cradles swim with blood." These inward fears render them cruel and vindictive, and make them multiply their soldiers and their guards, wherein their only hope of safety doth consist. These grow chargeable to a commonwealth, and easily from servants turn masters. From all these burdens and suspicions we are freed by the restitution of the right heir. So, every way, King Charles "brings his sheaves with him."

A prince, as supereminent above others in goodness, as Saul was in stature, and more adorned with virtues than with his purple. To whose happy Coronation this day is dedicated. Much may he give, long may he live, a "nursing father" to the Church, a patron to the commonwealth, a protector to his friends, a terror to his enemies, an honour and a darling to his country. Let the hopes of all who envy this day's happiness, melt away as winter ice, and flow away as unprofitable waters. And long, long may his crown flourish, which this day first adorns his temples, until he change that "corruptible crown" with an "immarcessible crown of glory."

[1 Sam. x. 23.]

[Isai. xlix. 23.]

[1 Pet. v. 4.]

963 When I consider with myself the condition of the most flourishing commonwealths, as Athens, how fatal they have for the most part been to persons of eminent virtues, whereof few escaped both banishment and poison, I cannot but admire our happiness under the best of monarchies: when I compare those arts and exactions which are used in our neighbour countries, where the whole estate of the commonwealth goes through the magistrate's hands in the short compass of a very few years. Much good may the mock-liberty of their tongues do them, which their purses pay for. I cannot but proclaim, 'O happy England, if thou knewest thine own happiness!' But neither the time permits me, nor my desires invite me, to fall upon this subject. I will turn my discourse into prayers, that the great God of Heaven and earth will give his Majesty a long life, a secure empire, a prudent and faithful council, a loyal and obedient people, expert and valiant armies. "Blessed be he that blesseth him," and let every loyal subject say 'Amen.'

[Gen. xxvii. 29.—Numb. xxiv. 9.]

THE FIRST SPEECH BY MY LORD PRIMATE TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS[d].

SIR,

The Lords Justices[e] of this kingdom have graciously heard that relation which you made unto them from the Honourable House of Commons, touching their election of you to be their Speaker, together with your modest desire to decline the place as too heavy for you. They know right well the great importance of the place; but they know as well your great ability to discharge it. Neither do they look upon you as a child, that hath the reins put seemingly and for a show into his hands; but as upon an experienced charioteer, who knows how to discharge all the duties that belong unto his office dexterously, and without ostentation, and to dispose and direct the hand of that little one by the occult motions of his own, to seem to do that which in truth is his own proper work. They know, that the Honourable House of Commons is no little fly-boat, but a ship royal of the second magnitude; and the cargazoon as rich as the ship is great. Therefore they have committed the charge of it to you, as to a skilful pilot. In sum, the Lords Justices do exhort you to add courage and resolution to your modesty and other great parts, that you may adorn that province, which by the suffrages of that House is committed to your care. For as the House of Commons have advisedly chosen you their Speaker, so the

[d] [The Irish Parliament was summoned for May 8, 1661 (Carte, Life of Ormond, bk. vi. vol. ii. p. 221); and commenced its sittings upon that day, after hearing a sermon in St. Patrick's Cathedral from Jeremy Taylor (in Taylor's Works, and see White Kennet's Register, p. 440). Sir W. Domvile, the Irish Attorney-General, was intended at first for Speaker of the House of Commons; but upon Sir Audley Mervyn's urgent entreaty, the King receded from his designed recommendation; whereupon, Bramhall (as Speaker of the House of Lords) having informed the Commons of this in directing them according to custom to choose their Speaker, Sir A. Mervyn himself, Bramhall's old enemy, who was at the time his Majesty's Prime Serjeant-at-Law, and in great favour with the Adventurers (who had great power in the House), was elected (Carte, ibid., pp. 221, 222). The speeches here printed, were delivered upon his being presented for confirmation in his office, on May 11, 1661.]

[e] [Sir Maurice Eustace, Chancellor (Oct. 24, 1660), and Sir Charles Coote, made Earl of Mountrath, were sworn in Lords Justices Dec. 31, 1660; and Lord Broghill, made Earl of Orrery, on the following 17th of January. Carte, Life of Ormond, bk. vi. vol. ii. p. 212.]

Lords Justices, by his Majesty's authority, do as advisedly confirm you their Speaker.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I have one thing more to add, which I am required by the Lords Justices to impart unto you; that is, that you being by your place an assistant to the House of Peers, and summoned by writ to the discharge of that trust, yet the House of the Lords taking into their serious consideration the possibility, or rather the probability, that some of their assistants might perhaps be chosen Speaker, to let all the world see that they are equally careful of the privileges of both Houses in order to the common good of the kingdom, they passed a vote this morning, that if any of their assistants should be chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, they would dispense with him '*pro hâc vice*,' saving always to the House of the Peers all their just rights and privileges for the future. So that there remains nothing, but that you gird yourself to your office, which is cast upon you from all hands.

THE SECOND SPEECH BY MY LORD PRIMATE TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MR. SPEAKER,

You style this place aptly, a "mount of transfiguration[f];" and truly so it is. We behold the greatest "transfiguration" here that ever was seen in this kingdom, on such a sudden, either in our days or in the days of our forefathers; a conversion from the greatest anarchy and confusion to order and a settled form of government. If nothing else did evince it, this change and transfiguration alone were able to make good the truth of that old maxim, "*Res facile redeunt ad pristinum*

[f] [Bramhall's trope in the Speech which follows, seems borrowed from the harangue of Sir A. Mervyn, to whom he was replying; and whose style, even for that age, was noted for affectation. E. g. his Speech to the Irish House of Lords upon bringing up the bill of impeachment against Bramhall himself, and his companions in adversity, in 1641, begins thus,—"I am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of the Commons House, to present unto you Ireland's tragedy, the gray-headed common-law's funeral, and the active statutes' death and obsequies; this dejected spectacle answers but the prefiguring type of Cæsar's murder," &c. &c. (Rushw., vol. v. p. 214). And see another choice specimen of his eloquence upon a later occasion, Nov. 8, 1661, in White Kennet's Register, p. 557.]

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statum"—"Things do easily return to their former condition." Otherwise it were impossible, that so much confusion should be attended with so much order; or the worst of anarchies, with the best of monarchies. It is better to live 964
under the Sicilian tyrants, or the Roman Decemviri, or the thirty Athenian usurpers, than to live in an anarchy, where there is no government. It is better to live where nothing is lawful, than where all things are lawful. Better one tyrant than a thousand. I shall not need to press this further. Cast but your eyes back to the by-passed years; and you will see this better demonstrated by experience, than it is possible to do it by reason. But behold a sudden "transfiguration." "Neither the morning nor the evening star in the heavens is more beautiful, than justice" and good government upon earth[g]. To it we owe our prosperity, our liberty, our security, all we are, all we have, all we can be in this world: without which we should be like fishes in the sea, or fowls in the air,—the greater devour the less.

". . . . . Pisces sic sæpe minutos
"Magnus comest; sic aves enecat accipiter[h]."

Those innovators and incendiaries who labour to pull down a settled form of government, are like a phrenetic person, who takes pains to hew down the bough whereon he himself doth stand. As those two signs, or rather meteors, Castor and Pollux, when they appear double to sea-faring persons, promise serenity and a prosperous voyage, but when they appear single or divided, they threaten a storm[i]; whether it be by reason of the density or rarity of the matter, or what other natural causes, I leave to the philosophers to determine: so, where power and justice do meet together, it promiseth prosperity and peace; but where they are divided, power without justice, or justice without power, it prognosticates a tempest to a state.

From your "mount of transfiguration" you shew us a king. "You, House of Commons, behold a king[k]." As anarchy is

[g] ["Διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις κρατίστη τῶν ἀρετῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι ἡ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ οὔθ' ἕσπερος οὔθ' ἕφος οὕτω θαυμαστός." Aristot., Eth., V. i. 15.]

[h] ["Pisces *ut* sæpe minutos Magnu' comest; *ut* aves enecat accipiter." Varro, ap. Non. Marcell., De Honestis et Nove Veterum Dictis, sub voce "Comest."]

[i] [Plin., Hist. Nat., ii. 37.]

[k] [A quotation apparently from Sir A. Mervyn's speech. See above in note f.]

the worst of misgovernments, so monarchy is the best of governments; the most ancient, the most universal, the most natural, the most noble, the most advantageous form of government. I do not deny the lawfulness of other forms; but I do altogether deny, that any other form is so noble, so natural, or so much from God. There is one God in the world, a monarchy; one soul in the body, a monarchy; one sun in the heavens, a monarchy; one master in each family, and one monarch in each society. It was good counsel, which Lycurgus gave a mutinous citizen, that would have had him bring a democracy into the state;—that he should try it first how he liked it in his own house, and suffer his servants to be his quartermasters[l]. The silly bees do teach us thus much, who know no law but the law of nature; yet they have their king. And that which is much more strange, which I have seen by ocular experience; take their king prisoner in a cane, as it is usual to do, and they will feed him with honey through the nicks and crevices of the cane. So long as you detain him there, they will never swarm, nor seek for new habitations for themselves. Remove him and his prison into another hive; and they will all flock after him, and travail for him. Put a strange king into his cane or prison; and they will be so far from feeding him, that they will stop up all the holes of the cane with wax, and starve him for a usurper. How much more are the silly bees more observant of the laws of nature, than degenerated men! In sum, the soul of sovereign power, which is infused by God into democracy and aristocracy, is the same that it is in monarchy; but the organ is not the same, nor so apt to attain the end; but God and nature do always intend that which is best, that is, monarchy. And in some cases, the existence of kingly government is from God, as well as the essence; but God never instituted any other form than monarchical. He Himself vouchsafed to be King of His people; and gave them first Moses as a viceroy,—"Moses was king in Jesurun;" [Deut. xxxiii. 5.] —and afterwards He gave them a radicated succession of kings[m]. No commonwealth hath the like plea for itself.

[l] [Plut., in Vitâ Lycurgi, tom. i. p. 111. ed. Bryant.]

[m] [Compare, for this argument respecting monarchy, Serpent-Salve, Sect. ii. (above in vol. iii. pp. 319, 320); Disc. ii. Pt. ii.]

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And as monarchical government is the best form of governments, so our English monarchy is the best form of monarchy. By the blessing of God, we live in the most temperate part of the temperate zone; and enjoy a government as temperate as the climate itself. We cannot complain either of too much sun or too little sun. The beams of sovereignty are neither so perpendicular over our heads that they can scorch us, nor yet so oblique, but that they are able to warm us. Should we go about in a madding humour to dissolve a frame of government, which made our forefathers happy at home, and famous abroad, or loath our own manna, and long after the fleshpots and onions of Egypt? If we dote upon foreign polities, it is only because we do not know them. Consult but with those that do know them, and we will quickly say, our "lot is fallen in a fair ground."

[Exod. xvi. 3.—Numb. xi. 4, 6.]

96.

[Ps. xvi. 7. Prayer-bk. Vers.]

And so from kings you come to Parliaments, which have evermore had a venerable esteem in the world, if not under the name of Parliaments, yet under a more ancient name of Councils, or Conventions. As the inferior orbs do by their transverse and opposite, yet vincible motions, stay and moderate the rapid force of the *primum mobile*, or first sphere; so Parliaments by their Fabian counsels do temper and moderate the quick motion of sovereign power. I speak not this of any danger that hangs over us. God be praised, we have no such young Phaeton; but one that hath been as much and as long acquainted with Fabius as with Marcellus, and knows how to use the buckler as well as the sword. But Parliaments have a further advantage than that of counsel only; namely, in republics, to aggregate and unite, and to render the whole society one political body; and in monarchies, to supply, and second, and execute. Then the affairs of a kingdom go prosperously on, when they join one and all in advancing public designs[n].

From Parliaments in general, I come to the reasons of summoning this Parliament in particular. But that is so evident, that he that runs, may read it. Yet, though it be so obvious, that no man can miss it, or mistake it, and that it may seem superfluous to do that over again, which hath been done so excellently already by my Lord Chancellor, as

[n] [Compare Serpent-Salve, Sect. xviii.; ibid. p. 404.]

one of his Majesty's representatives, yet, for order and method' sake, I shall assign three reasons for convocating this present Parliament.

The first is, discrimination of persons, and distinction of possessions. Methinks I am now in one of the fields of Egypt, upon the banks of Nilus, presently after the inundation of that river, when it is just returning into the old channel. And all you, that hear me, look like so many measurers, that are here on purpose to give every proprietor his right possession, and set them out their true bounds. Never did an inundation of Nilus make a greater confusion of distinct possessions and interests, than the late rebellion hath made in Ireland, blending all estates in one confused mass. Kings, dukes, Bishops, knights, and pawns, are all confusedly mixed together in one bag. It were folly, noble Peers and patriots, to ask what you do here: as great, as if one should enquire, upon the banks of Nilus, what the measurers do there presently after an inundation. It is to fix every man in his proper station, wherein he is to serve his king and country. This is the first end of this Parliament,—the distinction of possessions.

A second reason is that, which is commonly the reason of summoning all Parliaments; that is, to satisfy the just debts of the kingdom, and disengage the public faith. We could not do it. It was impossible. And necessity must yield to impossibility. But his Majesty hath done it for us, and satisfied the public debts out of his own rights[o]. The time hath been, that the public faith of the kingdom hath been slighted. No man had a public trust, and so no man could be sued upon a public faith. But King Charles hath redeemed the public credit again, by satisfying the public debt. But he satisfies them in a Parliamentary way. St. Paul saith, that "an oath is the end of all strife;" so is a Parliament. For as there lieth no appeal from God in the interior court, so there lieth no appeal from Parliament in the exterior court. I mean, a complete Parliament, of King, Lords, and Commons, whose act is the act of each individual subject. This is the second reason of calling this Parliament;—to satisfy the public debts of the kingdom.

[Heb. vi. 16.]

[o] [See above p. 132, note v.]

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A third reason of convocating this Parliament, is the providing for the army for the future, without imposing too great a burden either upon the English or Irish subject. Two things make a prince grateful to his people; easy ears to hear grievances, and light hands in imposing subsidies. And to speak the truth, a great part of the dissensions in England have sprung from this source. The king could not live upon the revenues of his crown without running into debt, nor those debts be paid without raising new monopolies, or imposing new taxes, as ship-money, or the like, or parting with some branches of his prerogative royal. Hitherto England hath been necessitated to supply the defects of Ireland; it is 966
to be feared, not over willingly. Now it hath pleased God to put into his Majesty's hands an opportunity of advancing his revenue to a competency, that Ireland may be able for the future to bear its own burden, without charging either the English or Irish subject in ordinary cases. And this opportunity he puts wholly into the hands of his Parliament, as the proper judge, both to supply the necessities of the kingdom, and to prevent them.

These are the three reasons of calling this Parliament:— 1. the distinguishing of possessions; 2. the satisfaction of just debts; 3. and the raising the revenues of the crown to a just competency.

Lastly, Mr. Speaker, you descend to the unity of both Houses. His Majesty hath done whatsoever hath been desired of him, and is yet ready to do whatsoever can be desired of a gracious prince. It is our own faults, our own frowardness and unseasonable opposition to one another, if we be not happy. All things preserve themselves by unity; and the nearer they approach to unity, the further they are from fear of dissolution. This lesson old Scillurus taught his sons by a bundle of rods. Whilst they were tied together, all their conjoined strength could not so much as bend them; but when the bundle was divided, and every son had his single rod, they did easily snap them in sunder: so, said he, you my sons are invincible whilst you preserve unity, but if you suffer yourselves to be divided, you are lost[p]. This lesson Menenius Agrippa taught his hearers by the well known

[p] [Plut., De Garrulitate, § 17; Op. Moral., tom. iii. p. 41.]

apologue of the belly and the other members. Whilst they did nourish unity, and all acted for the public advantage of the whole body, each member had his share and dividend in this happiness: but when they began to mutiny and divide interests, and to weigh their own particular merits too narrowly, and all to grumble at the belly as an idle, gluttonous, and unprofitable member, they found by costly experience, that their well and ill fare were inseparably interwoven together, and that they wounded that member which they maligned through their own sides[q]. On the other part, disunion is the ready way to destruction. "*Si collidimur, frangimur*"—"if we be beaten one against another, we are both broken in pieces." It was not the power of Rome, but the divisions and subdivisions of the Britons, which rendered them an easy prey to their conquerors. It was not Philip, but the dissensions of Athens, Thebes, and Sparta, that ruined Greece. It was not Scipio, but the factions of Hanno and Hannibal, that destroyed Carthage. Our own eyes have seen a small handful of confederated provinces able to oppose the greatest monarch in Europe, and were so far from sinking under the weight of such a war, which had been able to break a back of steel, that like palm trees, they did grow up under the weight, from "Distressed Orders" to "High and Mighty States;" or like Moses his bush, not only not consumed, but sprouting and blossoming in the midst of the flames. [Exod. iii. 2.] This virtue of unanimity is that, whereupon our riches, our honour, our religion, our laws, our liberties, our king and country, our fires and altars, and all our hopes, do depend.

"Hoc opus, hoc studium, parvi properemus et ampli,
"Si patriæ volumus, si nobis vivere chari[r]." . . . .

THE ANSWER OF THE LORDS JUSTICES TO MR. SPEAKER'S LAST PROPOSITIONS.

That they will be very careful and ready to maintain the House in all the just liberties and privileges belonging to it. 1. A freedom from arrests for themselves and their servants in all cases whereunto the privilege of the House doth ex-

[q] [Liv., ii. 32.]

[r] [Hor., Epist., I. iii. 28, 29.]

PART IV.

tend: 2. modest and moderate liberty of speech, void of all licentiousness; which their Lordships are confident that the House is so far from desiring to have it tolerated, that themselves would be the first and severest censurers of it: 3. seasonable and free access to their Lordships upon all occasions.

DISCOURSE IV.

THE RIGHT WAY TO SAFETY AFTER SHIPWRECK:

IN

A SERMON,

PREACHED TO THE HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

IN ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, DUBLIN,

JUNE 16, 1661,

AT THEIR SOLEMN RECEIVING

OF

THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.

BY THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,

PRIMATE AND METROPOLITAN OF ALL IRELAND.

17 June, 1661.

Ordered, that the under-named persons, or any three or more of them, do repair unto his Grace the Lord Primate of all Ireland, and in the name of this House return thanks unto his Grace for his great pains taken yesterday in preaching and administering the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper unto the members of this House, and to desire his Grace that he would cause the same to be printed.

Sir Henry Tichburne,
Sir Theophilus Jones, Mr. of the Wards,
Sir Francis Hamilton,
Sir Robert Forth,
Sir Richard Kirle.

Copia Vera
Ex. per Philip Ferneley,
Cler. Parl.

DISCOURSE IV.

THE RIGHT WAY TO SAFETY AFTER SHIPWRECK.

PROV. xxviii. 13.

"He that covereth his sins, shall not prosper; but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy."

FIRST PRINTED AT DUBLIN, A.D. 1661[a].

IN these words, two different ways, which sinners take to attain to happiness, are represented to us: the one short and broad, but impassable, by reason of thieves and precipices;—"He that covereth his sins, shall not prosper:" the other long and strait, but certain and secure;—"Whoso confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy." Or, if you will, a common shipwreck, wherein two planks are presented to us, to save us from drowning: the one painted but rotten, which will undoubtedly deceive us, that is, the plank of dissimulation;—"He that covereth his sins, shall not prosper:" the other rugged but sound, which will infallibly bring us safe to land, that is, the plank of repentance;—"He that confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy." Or, lastly,

[a] [This sermon, as appears by the title-page, and by the prefixed order of the Irish House of Commons, was preached on June 16, 1661, being the first Sunday after Trinity, in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Two of the members named in the order of the House (upon p. 146), were persons of some note; Sir H. Tichburne, who had been governor of Drogheda from 1641 through the Rebellion; and Sir Theophilus Jones, who was the eldest son of Lewis Bishop of Killaloe (1633-1646) and the eldest brother of Henry Bishop of Meath (1661-1681), and was at this time a leader among the party of the Adventurers (as they were called), in the Irish House of Commons. See Harris' Ware, and Carte, Life of Duke of Ormond, vol. ii.]

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we may consider herein the sore, the chyrurgery, and the success. The sore is sin. The course of chyrurgery is double and different: the one by healing over or binding up, the other by incision or cleansing out; the one with supple oil, the other with sharp vinegar; the one by bathing, the other by lancing; the one by 'covering,' the other by 'confessing.' The success is likewise double and different, proportionable to the two ways of cure: the one unprosperous,—"shall not prosper;" the other prosperous,—"shall have mercy."—"He that covereth his sins, shall not prosper; but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy."

[2 Chron. vi. 29.]

The sore is spiritual and epidemical, that's sin. 2 Chron. vi. "When every one shall know his own sore." And more emphatically, Isai. i. 6, it is styled a "putrifying sore." So long as our first parents continued in the state of innocency, roses grew without thorns, as St. Ambrose observed[b]. As there was no sin, so there was no sickness; no sores in the world, either of soul or body. Indeed it was not impossible for them to sin; so they should have been Gods, not men: but it was possible for them not to have sinned, which is as much as the Angels in Heaven can challenge to themselves: for many of them fell irrecoverably, because they found not a Redeemer; and those which stood, owe their conservation, as we do our redemption, to the Cross of Christ. But by the fall of Adam the Image of God became defaced in man, the rays of Heavenly light eclipsed, the sparkles of Divine grace cooled, the understanding infatuated, the will confounded, the affections disordered; and in place of these perfections, sin entered into the world as an hereditary contagion, a spiritual leprosy, with the consequents of it, all manner of sores and diseases, both of soul and body; which cannot be cured with all the balm in Gilead, nor cleansed with all the water in the ocean, but only by the Blood of Christ, and in order to that, by repentance; which is the cure commended in my text.

Col. i. 20.

[Jerem. viii. 22; xlvi. 11.]

Hence all those swarms of fevers, catarrhs, gouts, palsies, apoplexies, and the like, which do infest the body of man more than any other living creatures. We may be burned

[b] [Ambros., Hexaem., lib. iii. c. 11; Op. tom. i. p. 51. C-E.]

up with choleric distempers, drowned with hydropic humours, choaked with the fumes of a vitious stomach, and buried quick in the grave of melancholic imaginations. But the chiefest defects are those of the soul. As 1. Ignorance,—that in so thick a mist of errors and sects, we know not how to find out the truth; and that which tops up our folly, is, that we are grown too wise in our own conceits. 2. Concupiscence; that pestilence of the soul, whose cankered blossoms are still sprouting up in the most regenerate hearts. This weakened the power of Samson, infatuated the wisdom [Judg. xvi. 4.—1 Kings xi. 1-4.—2 Sam. xi.] of Solomon, defiled the holiness of David. 3. Self-love; a hidden poison, the rust of the mind, the moth of holiness, the parent of envy, the original of all vices. 4. Discontent: which makes us prize what we want, slight what we enjoy, more sensible of sufferings than of blessings; like little children, which, for want of some toy which they affect, throw away all they have, and fall a crying. We follow contentment hard, but as fools do an *ignis fatuus*, always at a distance. 5. Preposterous fear. If we do ill, we fear magistrates; if we do well, we fear detractors: if we be rich, we fear thieves; if poor, creditors: if we hate, we fear enemies; if we love, corrivals. 6. Distrust. We all say, we trust God, but for the most part sooner with our souls than with our estates, and hardly without a pawn, as usurers would trust a bankrupt. Lastly, hypocrisy. If there be a mote in the eye, [Matt. vii. 3-5.] there is a beam in the heart; if there be a beam in the eye, there is a stack of mischief in the heart: we look one way, and row another way; blow hot and cold with the same mouth; and have our hearts more double than our breath: we flatter for advantage, and we slander for advantage; we serve God for advantage, and if need be, we serve the Devil for advantage. Then, since we have all made shipwreck of Baptismal grace by sin, since all without exception do stand in need of "a second plank" to save them from drowning, it remains that we make choice of one of the two presented to us in my text; dissimulation, or conversion; 'covering,' or 'confessing:' that's the next part:—"He that covereth his sins, shall not prosper; but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy."

There are three good 'covers' of sin in Holy Scripture:

PART IV. 1. Charity; 2. Conversion; 3. Pardon. The two first are men's 'covers;' the third is God's 'cover.'

Prov. x. 12. 1. Charity.—"Hatred stirreth up strife, but love covereth
1 Pet. iv. 8. all sins;" and, "Charity shall cover the multitude of sins."
[1 Cor. xiii. 5.] Charity "thinketh no evil," charity suspecteth no hurt, charity interprets all things in the best sense; charity doth not aggravate or exaggerate the faults of men, but seeks to extenuate them, imputing them to a good intention, or to ignorance, or to surprise, or to the violence of temptation; charity delights not in carrying about fardles of tales and calumnies, as pedlars do their packs, from house to house,
[Gen. ix. 22.] nor to divulge the faults of men, as cursed Ham did the nakedness of his father, but to conceal them, and to suppress
[Matt. i. 19.] them, as Joseph was "not willing to make" Mary "a public example;" charity is not vindictive, to write injuries in marble, but buries them in oblivion. He that wants this 'cover,' is an unclean vessel. He that hath not this wedding gar-
[Matt. xxii. 11-13.] ment, is sure to be "cast into outer darkness." But he that
[Luke vi. 37.] hath it, is blessed; he shall prosper. "Judge not, and you shall not be judged."

Jam. v. 20. The second good 'cover' is Conversion.—"He that converteth a sinner, . . shall save a soul, . . and hide a multitude of sins." Just as he "converts a sinner," and "saves a soul," so he "hides sins;" not primitively, but derivatively; not principally, but subordinately; not sovereignly, but ministerially. He converts morally, but grace physically; he by persuading, but grace by renewing. Now [1.], conversion being an infallible way to remission, he that helps to convert, helps to 'cover' sin; that's one way. 2. He that converts a man, helps to amend him; and after amendment, the shame of former sins is 'covered.' The memory of them is rather a badge of honour, than a note of ignominy; like the scar of a soldier's wound, after it is healed. Thus he "hides the sins" of his convert. But he "hides" his own "sin" likewise; that is, dispositively: he renders himself more capable of
[Matt. v. 7.] God's pardon. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall find mercy." But those busy bodies, whose affections are stronger than their judgments, who labour with tooth and nail to spread [a]broad their erroneous dreams, must expect no share
[Matt. xxiii. 15.] in this blessing. "Wo be to you, Scribes and Pharisees,

hypocrites; for you compass sea and land to make a proselyte, and make him two-fold more a child of Hell than yourselves."

The third kind of 'covering' of sin is the forgiving of it.—"Thou hast forgiven their iniquity, and covered all their sins:" that is, "covered" them from the eye of Thy Justice; as a wound is covered with a plaster, to cure it; as a dead body is covered in the grave, to avoid the stench of it; as the doors of the Israelites were covered with the Blood of the Paschal Lamb, to cause the destroying Angel to pass by them. In the same regard, elsewhere, the remission of sins is called a "forgetting" of them, a "casting of them behind the back," a "burying them in the bottom of the sea." Of all 'covers,' this is the best;—"Blessed is the man whose transgression is forgiven, and whose sin is covered."

971 But these are not the 'covers' intended in my text: the first of which is downright denial; as Gehazi thought to have outfaced his master, and Ananias and Sapphira, St. Peter. The harlot "eateth, and wipeth her mouth, and saith," What 'have I done?' Men are too apt to forget the all-seeing eye of God: like woodcocks, which thrust their heads in a bush, and think no man sees them, because they see no man. Let the leprosy of Gehazi, let the sudden death of Ananias and Sapphira, warn us to take heed, how we seek to cover our faults with lies. Well may it advantage a man a little for the present, as a lie got St. Peter his admission into the High Priest's hall; but it hath ever a foul ending, and within a while forfeits the whole stock of a man's credit and reputation. Therefore the Scripture saith, that "a lying tongue is but for a moment," and to God it is a very "abomination." Then tell the truth, and shame the Devil. When a fault is ingenuously discovered, the amends is half made.

The second 'cover' is mincing or extenuating of our sins: as the sluggard,—"Yet a little sleep, a little slumber;" and Jonathan "did but taste a little honey upon his rod's end:" but "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump," a few "dead flies cause the ointment of the apothecary to stink." He that clippeth a little of the king's coin, is guilty of treason. Every little sand hath his weight: and it is all one, whether a man be pressed to death with a heap of sand or a mass of

Psal. lxxxv. 2.

[Exod. xii. 13, 22, 23.] [Amos viii. 7.—Isai. xxxviii. 17.—Micah vii. 19.]

Psal. xxxii. 1.

[2 Kings v. 25.—Acts v. 1-10.]

Prov. xxx. [20.]

[John xviii. 17.]

Prov. xii. [19,] 22.

[Prov. vi. 10; xxiv. 33.] [1 Sam. xiv 43.] [1 Cor. v. 6.]—Eccl. x. 1.

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lead; whether a ship be overwhelmed with one great wave, or drowned with many small leaks. More perish by the daily habitual presumptuous practice of lesser sins, than by one foul act of some greater sin. We detest that horrid paradox, that all sins are equal; that he is as great a transgressor that kills a cock-chicken without a cause, as he that murders a prince. But he that makes light of any sin, when he comes to make up his account with God, destroys himself. Yet this is often our condition. "A mote in our neighbour's eye" shews greater than "a beam in our own."

[Matt. vii. 2-5.]

The third 'cover' is that of excuses. Saul pleads for a sacrifice to the Lord, to excuse his own disobedience. Gehazi pleads the necessity of "the sons of the prophets" for his bribery. Judas allegeth the poor to palliate his covetousness. When the King of Heaven invites men to His great Supper, one hath "married a wife," another purchased a farm, the third must "go to prove" some oxen. Many frame excuses to themselves with as much ease as the spider weaves her webs. Every sin hath its cloak. Malice and revenge pretends zeal of justice. Wilful murder, I mean in our duellists, which cries to Heaven for revenge, muffles itself up in the cloak of honour and reputation. These fig-tree leaves may serve to cover our sins well enough, whilst it is vacation; but take heed of the term-time when it comes. When conscience begins to spit fire and brimstone in our face, when the Devil pulls off the hood wherewith he hath blinded us, then all these painted excuses vanish away; we hear nothing but hues and cries, we see nothing but evident destruction.

[1 Sam. xiii. 12.] [2 Kings v. 22.] [John xii. 4-6.] [Luke xiv. 18-20.] [Gen. iii. 7.]

The fourth 'cover' is transferring of our sins upon others: as Adam upon the woman, the Israelites upon their fathers —"The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." As if the multitude of delinquents did lessen the offence. Nay, rather, the more the transgressors, the nearer are the judgments of God. Others accuse the times, and evil company, of their faults;—how should one stick say, it remained unscorched, in the midst of a flaming bundle? 'Tis true, as fire begets fire, so doth sin; "evil manners corrupt good[c]:" though the operation be not always

[Gen. iii. 12.] [Jer. xxxi. 29.—Ezek. xviii. 2.]

[c] ["φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρῆσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί." Menand., in Thaide, ap. Epist. 1. S. Paul. ad Cor. xv. 33. See Grotius in loc.]

present. Poison must have a time of working. The more our familiarity grows with sin, the less the deformity thereof appears. After the music is ended, the tune still remains in our ears. He that makes conscience of his ways, must avoid evil company as he would do poison, or a house infected with the plague; and write, "Lord have mercy upon us," on the one door as well as on the other. Others make Satan their cover, and cast their sins upon his score. The Devil may solicit us, but he cannot necessitate us. He could not thrust the apple by force down Eve's throat, nor push Christ by violence down from the pinnacle. He hath a slight of persuading, not a power of compelling. He "blows the coals, but the fire is our own[d]." He bites, but it is those which thrust themselves into his jaws[e]. "Resist the Devil, and he will fly from you." Lastly, some make God Himself the cover for their sins. Of all covers this is the worst. So
972 Adam;—"The woman which Thou gavest me." Such are they, which make all things in the world, even sin itself, to come to pass fatally, inevitably, by virtue of a necessitating decree of God. Such are they, which make their Redeemer their packhorse (be it spoken with reverence), to bear their presumptuous sins: as if He had shed His precious Blood to purchase our liberty, that we might turn libertines. Deceive not yourselves. To whom Christ "is made Redemption," to them He "is made Righteousness and Sanctification." This is the fourth 'cover,' the transferring of our sins upon others.

[Gen. iii. 4-6.] [Matt. iv. 5-7.—Luke iv. 9-12.] [James iv. 7.] [Gen. iii. 12.] [1 Cor. i. 30.]

The fifth 'cover' is hypocrisy. This was Absalom's cloak for his rebellion. Such covers were Cain's sacrifice, Esau's tears, Jezebel's fast, the Pharisee's alms, the harlot's vow, the traitor's kiss. The world is full of such jugglers and mountebanks in religion, of all sects; who cry, "Great is Diana," and magnify "the image that fell down from Jupiter," meaning nothing but their profit: who cry aloud,

[2 Sam. xv. 1-6.] [Gen. iv. 3.—xxvii. 34;—Heb. xii. 17.—1 Kings xxi. 9.—Matt. vi. 2, &c.—Prov. vii. 14.—Matt. xxvi. 47, 48, &c.] [Acts xix. 28, 35.]

[d] ["Τὸ πῦρ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἡ δὲ φλὸξ τοῦ Πνεύματος." Greg. Naz., Carm. xxxiii., Γνωμολ. Τετράστιχος, v. 208; Op. tom. ii. p. 608. ed. Bened.]

[e] ["Neminem potest mordere" (Diabolus) "nisi eum qui se ad illum ultro mortiferâ securitate conjunxerit;. . latrare potest, sollicitare potest, mordere non potest, nisi volentem." Pseudo-August., Serm. xxxvii. § 6; in Append. Op. tom. v. p. 74. F. ed. Bened. But see above, Vindic. of True Liberty against Hobbes, Numb. xiv. (vol. iv. p. 91. note n); Disc. i. Pt. iii.]

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"Lord, Lord," and mutter to themselves, "*Da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumque videri*[f]"—"Give me grace to cheat and to delude the eyes of the world:" "painted sepulchres," very glow worms, which have a counterfeit light without any heat; pictures with double prospectives, that to the light presents an Angel, the other from the light, a devil: we have pulled down other pictures to set these up in our churches. Nothing is more odious unto God than to make a stalking-horse of religion. Christ throws out seven woes against hypocrites. Other sinners may be converted, the hypocrite hardly; because he hath converted conversion itself into sin. Such as "devour widows' houses" under a colour of "long prayers," shall "receive the greater damnation."

[Matt. vii. 21.] [Matt. xxiii. 27.] [Matt. xxiii. 13-15, 23, 25, 27, 29.] [Matt. xxiii. 14.]

The sixth and last 'cover' is impudence,—to defend our sins, and glory in them; which is used by none but those who have already gotten one foot within the gates of Hell. "*Periisse puto cui pudor periit*[g];"—past shame, past grace. St. Austin bewails his youth, led in "the streets of Babylon;" where, when he heard his companions boasting of their lewdness, he was forced to "feign those things he never did, lest he should appear so much more vile, by how much he was more innocent[h]." That which was his detestation, is now the only garb for a gallant. Such a gallant was Ham, that gloried in the nakedness of his own father, whilst his more modest brethren covered it with their faces backward. Such another gallant was Caligula, who said, "He liked nothing better in his own disposition than his impudence[i]:" a voice fitter for a hangman than an emperor. It was the height of Israel's sin, that she had "a whore's forehead, and refused to be ashamed." Shamefacedness is the praise of nature, the harbinger of grace, the ensign of honesty, the seat of virtue, the witness of innocency. But glorying in sin is the next link to damnation. They that use such vain covers as these, shall one day wish for another cover; even "the mountains" to

[Gen. ix. 22, 23.] ["ἀδιατρεψίαν."] [Jer. iii. 3.] [Hos. x. 8. —Rev. vi. 16.]

[f] ["Jane Pater, clare, clare cum dixit Apollo;
"Labra movet, metuens audiri; Pulchra Laverna,
"Da mihi fallere, da justo sanctoque videri;
"Noctem peccatis, et fraudibus objice nubem."
Hor., Epist., I. xvi. 59-62.]

[g] ["Nam ego illum periisse puto cui pudor quidem periit." Plaut., Bacch., III. iii. 81.]

[h] [Aug., Confess., lib. ii. c. 3. § 7; Op. tom. i. p. 84. A.]

[i] [Sueton., in V. C. Cæs. Calig., c. xxix. p. 423. ed. Græv.]

fall upon them, and the hills to cover them from the presence of the Lamb. So unprosperous is this course of concealing: that's the next part,—"Shall not prosper."

First, he shall not prosper in his sin; he shall not find that happiness and content in it, which he expects. Amnon was sick of love, until he enjoyed Thamar; that moment passed, his love was dogged with hatred and repentance. What a deal of convenience and heart's ease did Ahab promise to himself in Naboth's vineyard; and the very first time he goes to take possession of it, he meets there with the tidings of the utter ruin of himself and [his] family. Herod violated all laws of God and man, burdened his conscience, waded through a sea of blood, all to settle the kingdom upon his son, and he proves an unthrift; offers half of it to a wanton minion for a dance. So goods ill gotten are like a coal of fire in a thatched house. Remember Herod. Before Judas had fingered that beggarly sum of thirty pieces of silver, his desires were upon the rack; he forgot his duty to God, his fidelity to his Master, his care of his own soul: but when he once had it, he could not endure to look upon it, as being the cause of his bane; he casts it away as an infectious rag; he disgorgeth it in the very Temple; his detestation of that poisonous morsel was greater than his reverence to that holy place. When Pharaoh's lean kine had devoured the fat, they were still no better favoured themselves. Let us all but look back to our former excesses, and unlawful pleasures, and see if we may not sighing say with the Apostle, "What profit had" we "of those things whereof" we "are now ashamed." So he "shall not prosper" in his sin.

[2 Sam. xiii. 2, 15.]

[1 Kings xxi. 16-24.]

[Matt. ii. 16.—Mark vi. 23.]

[Matt. xxvi. 14, 15.—xxvii. 3-5, —&c.]

[Gen. xli. 21.]

[Rom. vi. 21.]

973 Secondly, he shall not prosper in his affairs. Not in his temporal undertakings. "Write this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days." Israel could not prosper, so long as the accursed thing remained hidden in Achan's tent. The eleven tribes prospered not against Benjamin, until they had humbled themselves by fasting. Jonas prospered not in a ship, until he had reconciled himself to God; then he found safety in the belly of a whale. Neither shall he thrive or prosper in spiritual graces. No man can serve both God and Belial. These hidden sins do choak the seed of the Word; they hinder the efficacy of our prayers, they

Jer. xxii. 30.

[Josh. vii. 10-15.]

[Judg. xx. 26.]

[Jon. i. 12, 17.]

[Matt. vi. 24.—Luke vi. 13.—2 Cor. vi. 15.]

[Matt. xiii. 7.]

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make the blessed Sacrament to become poison, and our fasts and humiliations to be mere mockeries. The grace of God will not suffer such mates to be chamber-fellows and fellow-commoners with her in the same heart. To ask for which of our sins things have succeeded unprosperously with us, were to seek a man in Athens at noon-day with a candle and a lanthorn[k]. The Lord sanctify our sufferings to us! Until then, we cannot prosper in our affairs.

Thirdly, he shall not prosper in his concealment. God will bring it to light. "Thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun."—"For nothing is covered, which shall not be revealed." Almost incredible are the ways which God useth for the discovery of crying sins; especially of murder. Whilst the earth is covered with snow, the ditches, and dunghills, and deformities thereof are hid; but by the melting of the snow they are discovered: so the villainous projects of dissemblers are so covered with a show of snow-white innocence and candour, that they are able (like Zeuxis his counterfeit grapes[l]) to deceive a piercing eye. But when time shall bring truth to light, their horrid ugliness will appear to the eye of the world. We may this day observe the footsteps of God's justice; how He brings the same troubles home to their doors, who have been underhand the contrivers and fomenters of them among their neighbours[m]. And now Bellona begins to shake her bloody whip among them[n]; as if God should say, "Thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing" before all Europe, and "before the sun." "Just art Thou, O Lord, and right are Thy judgments." So he "shall not prosper" in his concealment.

Sam. xii. 12. Luke xii. 2. [Ps. cxix. 137.]

Fourthly, he shall not prosper in obtaining pardon for his sin; and then all his other advantages are too much to his

[k] [A story of Diogenes the Cynic, in Diog. Laert., vi. 41;—"Λύχνον μεθ' ἡμέραν ἅψας, ἄνθρωπον, φήσι, ζητῶ."]

[l] ["Fertur Zeuxis pinxisse puerum uvas ferentem, ad quas cum advolasset avis," &c. Plin., Nat. Hist., xxxv. 4.]

[m] [The allusion is to France and Cardinal Richelieu. See above in the Answ. to La Millet., vol. i. p. 35. note s, Disc. i. Pt. i.: and for Richelieu's intrigues in Ireland (as well as in England and Scotland), Ld. Macguire's Confession, in Nalson, vol. ii. p. 553.]

[n] [The reference apparently is to the civil wars which desolated France during the minority of Louis XIV.; which however were pretty nearly at an end in 1661. And the treaty of the Pyrenees in 1660 had also put an end to the war between France and Spain.]

cost. "What shall it profit a man, to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" A damned spirit in Hell may as soon hope for forgiveness at the hands of God, as that person who hides and cherisheth his sins privately in his heart. This is to make God confederate with us in our wickedness and dissimulation. 'Tis in vain to skin over a sore, whilst dead flesh remains within. The weapon must first be pulled out, before the wound can be cured. The medicines of salvation profit not a wounded soul, until the fiery darts of Satan be drawn out by repentance. So he "shall not prosper" in his recovery. [Matt. xvi. 26.—Mark viii. 36.]

Lastly, these words, "He shall not prosper," are a μείωσις, and signify as much as 'he shall suffer smart' for it.

1. He shall suffer in his conscience, those "*cæca vulnera*[o]," those "blind blows," which no man knows but he, which feels worse than all the plagues of Egypt and botches of Job. This made Cain a runagate upon the face of the earth. [Job ii. 7.] [Gen. iv. 13, 14.]

2. The judgments of God shall pursue him, both in this life, and the life to come. Herod did not only not prosper in his aim, to entail the crown to his posterity, but the day came that paid for all; such a conglomeration of unmeasurable torments, as they are described by Josephus[p], did hardly ever meet together in one man, and (which is worse) these were but the forerunners of greater. Judas did not only miss his contentment in the thirty pieces of silver, but he got thirty curses; you may find them Psalm cix. Money perished, but the curses stuck by until they brought him to a halter. Envy not a murderer, that braves it upon the stage for the first or second act of a tragedy; nor an ox, that is fatting for the slaughter; nor a thief, that is riding in state to his execution. Have patience and expect the catastrophe. "Though a sinner doth evil a hundred times, and the Lord still prolongeth his days, yet I know it will be well with them that fear the Lord, . . but it shall not be well with the wicked." Thus every way he "shall not prosper." [Ps. cix. 6-16.] [Eccl. viii. 12, 13.]

And so I leave him lurking under a net, "treasuring up to himself wrath against the day of wrath," to come to the true [Rom. ii. 5.]

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[o] ["Quos diri conscia facti Mens habet attonitos et *surdo verbere* cædit." Juv., xiii. 193, 194.—"Haud est dignatus Oroden Sternere, nec jactâ *cæcum* dare cuspide *volnus*." Virg., Æn., x. 732, 733.]

[p] [Joseph., Antiq. Jud., lib. xvii. cc. 6, 7; vol. ii. pp. 765, 769. ed. Hudson.]

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convert in the next words:—"But he that confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy."

Confession, with its requisites, contrition and amendment of life, which is here called "forsaking," do make a complete repentance: which some Fathers style a "second table after shipwreck[q]," others a "Baptism of pains and tears[r];" yea, some of them doubted not to say, that confession did loose the bands of sin, and "extinguish the fire of Hell[s];" that is, not by way of merit, but by way of impetration; not by paying, but by pacifying, the wrath of God, and so averting His judgments. No, those blessed Saints did never dream, that the covenant of Grace, whereunto we are admitted by Baptism, was evacuated by a lapse into sin; or that any new and different covenant was established by repentance, grounded partly upon the merits of Christ and partly upon ourselves. Let confession and repentance have their due; but let them not thrust Christ out of the chair, from Whose grace they flow, from Whose acceptation they have their efficacy. Thrice happy are they, which use this plank aright, to bring them through the raging billows of this sinful world to the haven of eternal bliss.

[Gen. iii. 11-13.] Confession is as ancient as our first parents, whom God Himself did call to the performance of this duty. It was

Numb. v. 7. practised among the Israelites, by Divine precept; by those

Matt. iii. [6.]—Acts xix. [18.] Jam. v. [16.] Jews that repaired to the Baptism of John; by those Ephesian converts: prescribed by St. James,—"Confess one to another, and pray one for another:"—endowed with such

[q] [Hieron., In Isai. c. iii. (Op. tom. iii. p. 38. b), "*Secunda post naufragium tabula* est et consolatio miseriarum, impietatem suam abscondere;" where the reading before the Bened. edition was, "tabula *pœnitentiæ* est," &c.; and so also elsewhere in St. Jerome; and in Pacianus (Epist. I. ad Sympronianum, in Biblioth. PP., tom. iv. p. 236. D); and in St. Ambrose, De Lapsu Virg., c. viii. § 37 (Op. tom. ii. p. 315. C), "Sed tu quæ jam ingressa es agonem pœnitentiæ, insiste misera; fortiter inhære *tamquam in naufragiis tabulæ*;"—and in Tertull., De Pœnitentiâ, c. iv. (Op. pp. 122. D, 123. A):—quoted by Bellarm., De Pœnit., lib. i. c. 13 (Op. tom. ii. p. 1223. D).]

[r] [S. Greg. Naz., Orat. xxxix, In Sancta Lumina (Op. tom. i. p. 634. D), "Οἶδα καὶ πέμπτον" (βάπτισμα) "ἔτι τῶν δακρύων, ἀλλ' ἐπιπονώτερον," speaking of Repentance; quoted by Bellarmine, ibid. So also Joh. Damascen., De Fide Orthod., lib. iv. c. 9, Op. tom. i. p. 262. B. ed. Lequien.]

[s] [Origen, Hom. xvii. in Lucam (Op. tom. iii. p. 933. A), "Si . . revelaverimus peccata nostra non solum Deo sed et his qui possunt mederi vulneribus nostris atque peccatis, *delebuntur peccata nostra* ab Eo, Qui ait, Ecce delebo ut nubem iniquitates tuas," &c.;—Tertull., De Pœnitentiâ (c. xi. Op. p. 128. C), "Si de exomologesi retractas, Gehennam in corde considera, *quam tibi exomologesis extinguet*:"—quoted by Bellarm., ibid. lib. iii. cc. 6, 7; ibid. pp. 1371. D, 1374. C.]

ample privileges, as in the first Epistle of St. John;—"If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and cleanse us from all unrighteousness;"—and here in my text,—"He that covereth his sins shall not prosper, but he that confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy." There is no better physic for a full stomach, than a vomit; nor for a soul replete with sin, than confession. Bodily sores do oftentimes compel a man to put off natural shamefacedness, and to expose his less honourable parts to the view of the chirurgion. Ought not every one to be as solicitous for his soul? We offend God three ways; by the imaginations of our hearts, by the words of our mouths, by the actions of our lives. If we intend to please God, we must take a clean contrary course; for evil thoughts of the heart, bring contrition of the heart; for corrupt speeches of the mouth, bring confession of the mouth; for wicked actions of our life, "bring fruits worthy amendment of life." By this means we bring glory to God, and shame to ourselves; and prevent that great confusion of face, which otherwise must fall upon us at the Day of Judgment, before God and Angels and men. A contrite sinner stands not upon terms of reputation with God, or with His Church. Why should we be more afraid to confess, than we were to offend? to make those the witnesses of our tears, who have been the witnesses of our faults? to take away the scandal that we ourselves have given? Let the world take notice of our sin, so it may likewise take notice of our repentance. A great sickness often ushers in health, and a better habitude of the body. A broken bone, when it is well knit, grows the stronger. So "the first shall be last, and the last shall be first." Indeed innocence (if that herb of grace were to be found) is better than confession: but "there is more joy in Heaven over one sinner that repenteth, than ninety-nine just persons that need no repentance," among "the holy Angels." "*Da Pater semper eis gaudere de nobis,*" &c.—"Grant, O Father, that they may always rejoice over us, that Thou mayest always be glorified by them for us, that we and they together may praise Thy Holy Name; O Thou that art the creator of men and Angels!"

Discourse IV.

[1 John i. 9.]

[See Matt. iii. 8.]

[Matt. xix. 20.—&c.]

[Luke xv. 7, 10.]

No man can doubt, but the Romanists have grossly abused

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confession; by tricking it up in the robes of a Sacrament; by obtruding a particular and plenary enumeration of all sins to man, as absolutely necessary to salvation by Divine institution; by making it (with their commutations) a remedy rather for the confessor's purse than the confitent's soul; by imposing ludibrious penances, as Chaucer observed, —"He knew how to impose an easy penance where he looked for a good pittance[t];"—by making it a pick-lock to know the secrets of states and families,—

"Scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri[u];"—

by absolving before they enjoin ecclesiastical satisfaction; by reducing it to a customary formality, as if it were but the concluding of an old score to begin a new. So, on the other side, it cannot be denied, that our Protestant confessions are for the most part too general;—we confess we are sinners, 975
and that's all; which signifies nothing:—and a little too presumptuous;—they that dare not trust their own judgment about their estates without the opinion of a lawyer, nor about their bodies without the advice of a physician, are wise enough for their souls without any other direction:—and a little too careless,—as if we were telling a story of a third person that concerned not us; we confess light errors willingly, which neither entrench upon our credit, nor threaten us with punishment; but greater crimes, where the discovery brings with it fear of ignominy and disgrace or suffering for them, we conceal and cover with as much art as may be:—lastly, even whilst we are confessing, we have too often a mind to return with "the dog to his vomit," and with "the sow to her wallowing in the mire." What is this but a plain mocking of God? Far from any hopes of mercy: for though 'covering' alone be a sufficient cause of punishment,—"He that covereth his sins shall not prosper,"—yet confession alone, without forsaking, is not a sufficient cause of mercy,—"But he that confesseth *and forsaketh*, shall have mercy."

[2 Pet. ii. 22.]

Not, forbears them in [general[x]], or only by an outward abstinence, but "forsaketh" them, as a man would cast a snake out of his bosom, with detestation. An outward abstinence is not the true change of a Christian: like a dog

[t] [Cant. Tales, Prologue, 223, 224.]
[u] [Juv., iii. 113.]
[x] ["Natural" in folio edition, by an obvious misprint.]

that is muzzled, or a thief that is manacled, which still retain their former dispositions. "When the unclean spirit" returns to his old habitation, and "finds it swept and garnished," not throughly but superficially cleansed, by an outward reformation without an inward renovation, he brings "with him seven other spirits, . . and the latter end of that man is worse than the beginning." He that abstains from an old sin, not for conscience towards God, but for fear of shame or punishment, is like that wolf whereof the Father speaks, which came unto the sheepfold to kill and to devour: the shepherd waking, the dogs barking, scared him away indeed, but altered not his wolvish nature: "*lupus venit fremens, lupus redit tremens, lupus est et fremens et tremens.*" So he "forsakes" them not, only forbears them. [Matt. xii. 43-45.—Luke xi. 24-26.]

Again, "forsakes" them, not conceals them. Penetration of bodies is a monster in philosophy. A heart inwardly replete with secret sins, hath no room for grace. A good lesson or a good motion, to it, is like a spark of fire falling into a vessel of water, presently extinguished; or like good seed falling among thorns, soon choaked. "What fellowship hath light with darkness," or "Christ with Belial?" In natural transelementation, there must be some affinity between the bodies; as fire and air, not fire and water, for the too great contrariety: but in spiritual conversion, no disparity can hinder the change. The greatest sins do often produce the most signal conversion; as it was in Saul, changed in the height of his fury from a persecutor to an Apostle, from a wolf to a shepherd, from a pirate to a governor. We cannot live as amphibians in two such contrary elements as a resolved course of sin and of godliness. Such half converts, who have nothing but a few idle yawning desires, can expect nothing at the hands of God, but to be "spewed out of His mouth" for their "lukewarmness." The mouth of Hell is full of such vain wishes and wishers, which use no serious means to gain them liberty, but only thrust their heads out of the grate, to look about them. A man may break all the commandments of God, and be guilty of none, if it be against his resolution, if he be heartily sorry for it. It is not so much sin, as impenitence, for which men are damned. And, on the other side, he that breaks but one [Matt. xiii. 7.] [2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.] [Rev. iii. 16.]

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commandment habitually and reasonably, "is guilty of all." I fear this is many of our conditions. We rather cover our sins, or forbear them, than "forsake" them; we desire rather to make a truce with God, than a peace: we do with our sins, as servants do with their fires when they go to bed, put them not out, but rake them up; so, when we come to reckon with conscience, and to make up our accompts with God, we do not desire to take an everlasting farewell of our sins, "*ab hoc momento in æternum*," as St. Austin[y] saith, but only a couvrefeu, to hide them in a heap of devotions for the present, whilst we are doing some superficial duties to God, or whilst the blessed Sacrament doth strike a kind of reverence into our hearts, with a purpose to reassume them upon the first opportunity; as the serpent doth her poison, which she had left behind her in her den. Can any man think, that such a feigned show of forsaking our sins, can be acceptable to God? O no! it 976
is too hollow-hearted. That conversion which finds mercy, must be serious and sincere. God's forgiveness, and our "forsaking," go still hand in hand together. "Forgive us our trespasses," there's the one; "And lead us not into temptation," there's the other. "Turn Thy face from my sins, O Lord," there's the former; "And make me a clean heart," there's the latter. "Lord, have mercy upon us," there's forgiveness; "And incline our hearts to keep Thy law," there's forsaking. That brings me to the last part,—"Shall have mercy."

[James ii. 10.]

[Ps. li. 9, 10. Prayer-book Vers.]

One might ask, which of all God's mercies? The air we breathe, the light we behold, the ground we tread upon, the meat we eat, whatsoever we are, or have, or hope for, it is His mercy. "By it we live, and move, and have our being." "Thou hast crowned me with Thy mercy," said David: it is a metaphor taken from a garland, which is composed of many and different flowers. God's mercy was the only motive to our redemption; His merciful grace, preventing us and assisting us, is the only means to apply this redemption; the consideration of this mercy is that which encourageth us to repentance. As Christ prayed, "Father forgive them," the poor thief grew bold,—"Lord, remember me." Mercy is the end of our repentance,—that we may find forgiveness.

[Acts xvii. 28.]

[Ps. ciii. 4.]

[Luke xxiii. 34, 42.]

[y] [Compare Serm. cxvii. in Append. tom. v. Op. S. August., p. 213. C.]

Mercy is our supporter in all our sorrows for sin; that we roar not out with Cain, "My sin is greater than that it can be forgiven;" nor betake ourselves desperately, with Judas, to a halter. Mercy is our only plea, when we do repent. We cannot say we have done such and such good offices for the time past; we are too "unprofitable servants." We dare not promise of ourselves to be more serviceable for the time to come; we are too desultory creatures. Lord, forsake not us, lest we forsake Thee. Mercy is the object of our hopes, the total sum of our desires. Both grace and glory do depend upon mercy. So mercy is the beginning, the middle, the end of our happiness.

[Gen. iv. 13.] [Matt. xxvii. 5.] [Luke xvii. 10.]

But St. John will tell us, what "mercy" this is:—"If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins." This "mercy" then is forgiveness of sin. That which is called "mercy" here, is called 'justice' there. It is "mercy" to make a gracious promise, but it is 'justice' to keep it. Without this mercy of forgiveness, all the other mercies of God are no mercies, but judgments. In this mercy true blessedness doth consist;—"Blessed is the man whose iniquities are forgiven." What comfort can a person, sure to be condemned, have, without hope of a pardon? The best music in the world is, "Son, thy sins are forgiven thee;" when God shall stretch forth the golden sceptre of mercy: that is, to all those, who for His love do mortify their earthly members, and forsake their own lusts. "For he that hideth his sins shall not prosper, but he that confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy."

[1 John i. 9.] [Ps. xxii. 1.] [Matt. ix. 2. —Mark ii. 5.]

Now among all the means ordained by God for the obtaining this saving mercy mentioned in my text, after Baptismal grace, there is none more efficacious than the blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; the very conduit-pipe of grace to all worthy communicants, the manna of life and immortality, the precious antidote against the sting and infection of the Infernal Serpent[z]; that inestimable love-

[z] ["Τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς Εὐχαριστίας, μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα." Irenæus, Adv. Hær., iv. 34, p. 327. ed. Grabe.—"Ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὅς ἐστι φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ παντός." Ignat., Epist. ad Ephes., § xx.; inter PP. Apostol. tom. ii. p. 294. ed. Jacobson.—"Πᾶσι φυλακτήριον εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου." Athanas., Epist. iv. ad Serapion., § 19; Op. tom. i. P. ii. p. 710. C.—"Altaria Dei, .. unde a multis et

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token, which Christ at His departure left to His Church, to keep in remembrance of Him; the true pool of Bethesda, wherein we may be cured of all our infirmities. Preparation of ourselves is necessary before the performance of all holy duties, but especially before the Holy Sacrament. We ought to repair to the participation of this with as great care and anxiety, as if we were immediately to depart out of the world. It was death for an uncircumcised person to eat of the Paschal Lamb. We must circumcise our eyes, our ears, our hands, and our hearts; and take heed, how we come to this wedding-feast without the wedding-garment. "O Lord, be merciful to all those, who prepare their whole hearts to seek Thee, though they be not purged according to the purification of the sanctuary!"

[John v. 2.]

[Exod. xii. 48.]

[Matt. xxii. 11-13.]

[2 Chron. xxx. 18, 19.]

pignus salutis æternæ et tutela fidei et spes resurrectionis accepta est." Optatus, De Schism. Donatist. adv. Parmenianum, lib. vi. c. 1. p. 90. ed. Dupin.—See also the Tract De Cœnâ Domini falsely ascribed to S. Cyprian, in Append. ad Cypr. Op. ed. Fell, pp. 39-44;—and the spurious treatise De Hierarchiâ Eccles. (c. iii. § 13. Op. S. Dion. Areop., tom. i. pp. 299, 300. ed. Corder. 1634), attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. And compare the Homily concerning the Sacrament, Pt. i. p. 398. 8vo. 1840.]

DISCOURSES V. & VI.

SOME PAPERS,

CONTAINING

SHORT OCCASIONAL DISCOURSES,

OR

THEOLOGICAL LETTERS,

WRITTEN

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

WHILE IN EXILE.

DISCOURSE V.

A

SHORT DISCOURSE

TO

SIR HENRY DE VIC,

ABOUT

A PASSAGE AT HIS TABLE,

AFTER THE CHRISTENING OF HIS DAUGHTER,

ANNE CHARLOTTE,

OF

PERSONS DYING WITHOUT BAPTISM.

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DISCOURSE V.

A

SHORT DISCOURSE

TO

SIR HENRY DE VIC[a],

OF PERSONS DYING WITHOUT BAPTISM.

[First published at Dublin, A.D. 1676, among the author's collected works.]

Sir,

The discourse which happened the other day about your little daughter, I had quite forgotten, till you were pleased to mention it again last night. If any thing did fall from me which gave offence to any there present, I am right sorrowful; but I hope there did not: as, on the other side, if any occasion of offence had been given to me, I should readily have sacrificed it to that reverend respect, which is due to the place, your table, anciently accounted a sacred thing, and to the lord of it, yourself. This morning, lying musing in my bed, it produced some trouble in me, to consider how passionately we are all wedded to our own parties, and how apt we are all to censure the opinions of others, before we understand them; while our want of charity is a greater error in ourselves, and more displeasing to Almighty God, than any of those supposed assertions which we condemn in others; especially when they come to be rightly understood. And to shew, that this particular breach is not

[Occasion of this Discourse.]

[a] [Sir Henry De Vic was ambassador for Charles I. to the States in 1644-1648, during which period Bramhall resided for the most part with him at Brussels after his flight from England with the Marquis of Newcastle. See Life, p. x. in vol. i. of the present edition.]

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so wide, nor the more moderate of either party so disagreeing, as is imagined, I digested these sudden meditations, drawn wholly, in a manner, from the grounds of the Roman schools; and so soon as I was risen, I committed them to writing.

[1. Want of Baptism fatal, unless upon the plea of invincible necessity.]

1. First, there is a great difference to be made between the sole want of Baptism upon invincible necessity, and the contempt or wilful neglect of Baptism when it may be had. The latter we acknowledge to be a damnable sin; and without repentance and God's extraordinary mercy, to exclude a man from all hope of salvation. But yet, if such a person, before his death, shall repent and deplore his neglect of the means of grace from his heart, and desire with all his soul to be baptized, but is debarred from it invincibly, we do not, we dare not, pass sentence of condemnation upon him; nor yet the Roman Catholics themselves[b]. The question then is, whether the want of Baptism, upon invincible necessity, do evermore infallibly exclude from Heaven.

[2. Baptismal grace absolutely, external Baptism only generally, necessary to salvation.]

2. Secondly, we distinguish between the visible sign, and the invisible grace; between the exterior sacramental ablution, and the grace of the Sacrament[c], that is, interior regeneration. We believe, that whosoever hath the former, hath the latter also; so that he do not put a bar against the efficacy of the Sacrament by his infidelity or hypocrisy; of which a child is not capable. And therefore our very Liturgy doth teach, that "a child baptized, dying before the commission of actual sin, is undoubtedly saved[d]." Secondly, we believe, that without Baptismal grace, that is, regeneration, no man can enter into the kingdom of God. But whether God hath so tied and bound Himself to His ordinances and Sacraments, that He doth not or cannot confer the grace of the Sacraments extraordinarily, where it seemeth good in His eyes, without the outward element, this is the question between us. 980

[3. Baptismal grace more probably con-

3. Thirdly, we teach, that the case is not alike with little infants born of Christian parents, who die unbaptized with-

[b] [So Bellarm., De Sacram. Baptismi, lib. i. c. 6 (Op. tom. ii. p. 309. B, C.).]

[c] [See Peter Lombard, Sentent., lib. IV., dist. iv. lit. A, and the comments of Aquinas and the other Schoolmen upon it.]

[d] [Rubric subjoined to the Office for Public Baptism of Infants.]

out their own fault, and men of age and discretion; such as Nicodemus was, to whom Christ said, "Except ye be born again of water and of the Spirit, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of Heaven." These latter can have no hope of salvation in an ordinary way, except they be baptized either in deed or desire. But we dare not pass a definite sentence against the former, whose want of Baptism is not their own fault, but the fault of their parents; seeing that God hath said, that "as He lives," the "son shall not bear the iniquity of his father." Yet do we not believe, that the children of Christian parents do derive any inward or inherent sanctity by propagation (as is by some imputed to us[e], amiss). We know well, that a Christian begets not a Christian. But that holiness, which St. Paul ascribes to the children of believing parents,—"If the root be holy, so are the branches[f],"—we expound of an exterior or ecclesiastical sanctity, or a right to the Sacrament of Baptism by the privilege of their birth, being not born foreigners, but natives and freemen of the Church. And forasmuch as they have a right to the Sacrament, but are defrauded of it without their own defaults, we believe, that God, Who hath not limited His grace to His outward ordinances, may and doth many times according to His good pleasure supply the defect of others, and operate in them the grace of the Sacrament by His Holy Spirit.

[ferred upon unbaptized infants than upon unbaptized adults.]

[John iii. 5.]

[Ezek. xviii. 2, 20.]

[Rom. xi. 16.]

That this is truth, I prove by five arguments, drawn out of their own grounds[g].

First, if the grace of the Sacrament be communicable without the Sacrament, then there is a possibility of salvation

[1. Analogy of martyrdom, wherein the grace of the Sacrament is communicated without the Sacrament itself.]

[e] [Bellarmine (De Sacram. Baptismi, lib. i. c. 4, Op. tom. ii. pp. 292, 295) quotes Calvin, Antidot. Concil. Trident. Sess. vi. c. 5. (Op. tom. viii. p. 240. a.—and see his Antidot. ad Art. Theol. Paris., Ad Art. i., Op. tom. viii. p. 191. a), and Instit. lib. iv. c. xvi. § 24 (Op. tom. ix. p. 361. a),—Peter Martyr, In Epist. I. ad Corinth. c. vii. (fol. 92-94. Tig. 1579),—Bullinger, In Epist. I. ad Corinth. c. vii. (fol. 80. Tig. 8vo. 1534),—as affirming, "filios sanctorum nasci sanctos," or some equivalent proposition. None of the three however so affirm the proposition as to exclude the general necessity of Baptism in such cases.]

[f] [Bramhall apparently intended to quote 1 Cor. vii. 14;—"Else were your children unclean, but now are they holy." The passage in the text refers to the spiritual descent of the Christian Gentile, from the Jewish Church; not to any supposed or probable coincidence of spiritual with natural propagation.]

[g] [Compare, for a summary of the doctrines of Roman doctors, Vazquez, In III. Sentent., Qu. lxxxviii. Disp. 151; and Bp. Forbes's Instruct. Historico—Theolog., lib. X. cc. vi-xi. pp. 469-483. Amst. 1702. And see also Bp. Morton's Catholic Appeal, II. xiii. 3-8 (Lond. 1610), and White against Fisher, pp. 177, 178 (Lond. 1624); where most of the arguments in the text are urged at length.]

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without actual baptization; but the grace of the Sacrament is communicable without the Sacrament, as appeareth in martyrdom, which is generally confessed to supply the defect of Baptism[h]. "Whosoever shall lose his life for My sake, shall save it;"—and,—"Blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven." If it be observed, that martyrs are baptized in their own blood, I answer, that martyrdom indeed is sometimes called Baptism, improperly and analogically, because it supplies the want of Baptism; but it is no Sacrament, no proper or true Baptism, because wanting the essentials of the Sacrament; the matter, which is water, which element and no other Christ consecrated in Jordan to the mystical washing away of sin; as also the form,—"I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." This is one exception without contradiction.

Luke ix. 24. Matt. v. 10. [Matt. iii. 13.-&c.] [Matt. xxviii. 19.]

Secondly, St. Paul saith, "If there be first a willing mind, it is accepted, according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not." God binds no man to impossibilities, which are not made impossible by himself. When actual Baptism cannot be had, the desire of Baptism is accepted for Baptism itself. As St. Ambrose saith of Valentinian, that he was 'baptized in his desire[i].' Thus much is acknowledged by all Roman Catholics, and may be collected out of the Council of Trent[j]. If it be objected, that the desire of Baptism can have no place in infants, for the defect of reason, I answer two ways. First, there may be the same invincible necessity for an infant, which is for a person of age and discretion. As suppose the mother should be delivered of child in a desert, where there is no water, and die before either the water can be brought to the infant or the infant to the water; the child wants the use of reason to desire Baptism; the parents do desire it for the child, but

[ii. Desire of Baptism accepted for Baptism itself.] 2 Cor. viii. 12.

[How this applies to infants]

[h] [See the passages from the Fathers collected, in Bingham, Orig. Eccles., X. ii. 20; and Bellarm., De Sacram. Baptism., lib. i. c. 6 (Op. tom. ii. pp. 304-308). Bellarmine's own propositions are, 1. that "martyrdom is rightly called and is a kind of Baptism," 2. that sins are remitted by it, 3. that "although a Baptism, it is not a Sacrament."]

[i] [Ambros., De Obitu Valentin. Consol., § 51-54; Op. tom. ii. p. 1188.]

[j] [Concil. Trident., Sess. vi. c. 4 (Labb., Concil., tom. xiv. p. 758. C), "Quæ quidem translatio" (scil. "ab eo statu in quo homo nascitur filius Adæ, in statum gratiæ" &c.), "post evangelium promulgatum, sine lavacro regenerationis, *aut ejus voto*, fieri non potest."]

want means to procure it: shall they christen it with sand, as it was sometimes done to a Jew in the like case[k], at the instant of death? This would be no celebration, but a bold presumption, and profanation of the Holy Sacrament. How much better were it to commit it to the secret and extra-
81 ordinary mercy of God; Who "hath not bound His power to the Sacraments[l]," as all divines do agree. What reason can be given, why necessity should dispense with the want of actual Baptism, and yet the same necessity should not dispense with the want of an actual desire of Baptism? especially seeing the want of desire in infants proceeds from an absolute and antecedent necessity, but the want of the Sacrament in persons of years might have been prevented, and is become invincibly necessary by their own fault, which deserves the less consideration. Secondly, I answer, that Gerson[m], and Gabriel[n], and Cardinal Cajetan[o], great doctors in the Roman Church, do maintain, that when Baptism cannot be actually applied to infants, the desire of their parents to have them baptized is sufficient for their salvation. Those doctors were more merciful to infants, to whom Christ gave so many expressions of His love, than the rigid controvertists of these times[p]. The best is, whether they be wheat or chaff, yet men's tongues or pens must not winnow them; "they must stand or fall to their own Master." This is called "*Baptismus Flaminis*"—"the Baptism of the Spirit[q]." [Rom. xiv. 4.]

Thirdly, the Roman schools do define, concerning such [iii. Doctrine of the Roman Schools respecting abortive infants.]

[k] [Niceph., H. E., iii. 37. And see the Centuriat. Magdeburg., Cent. II. c. vi. p. 117. ed. 1759; and Bingh., Orig. Eccl., XI. ii. 5. The story relates to the time of Marcus Antoninus, and the person was afterwards properly baptized.]

[l] ["Deus potentiam Suam Sacramentis non alligavit," from Pet. Lomb., Sentent. lib. IV. dist. iv. lit. E, became an axiom among the Schoolmen.]

[m] [Serm. in Nativit. B. Mariæ, Consid. ii.; Op. P. iii. fol. 313. R. These authorities with others are quoted at length by Cassander, De Bapt. Infant., pp. 762-771 (Op. fol. Paris. 1616), who agrees with them. And compare his Defens. Lib. de Offic. Pii Viri, ibid. p. 847; and the well-known Epistle of S. Bernard, Ad Hugonem de S. Victore, Epist. lxxvii. Op. tom. ii. pp. 631-642. ed. Bened. Paris. 1719.]

[n] [Gabriel Biel, In IV. Sentent., Dist. iv. Qu. 2. Dub. 2, et 5.]

[o] [Comment. in Thom. Aquin. Summ. Theol., P. III. Qu. lxviii. art. 1. fol. 274. a. Bonon. 1528. In some later editions the passage is omitted, by order of Pius V., e. g. in that of Antw. 1612.]

[p] [Viz. Bellarm., De Sacram. Baptismi, lib. i. c. 4 (Op. tom. ii. pp. 292 sq.);—Concil. Trident., Sess. vi. cap. 7 (Labb., Concil., tom. xiv. p. 759. D).—And see White against Fisher, p. 177.]

[q] ["Est Baptismus in aquâ, in sanguine, in pœnitentiâ." Gloss. super Epist. ad Heb. vi. a, as quoted by Pet. Lomb., Sentent. lib. IV. dist. iv. lit. E; —scil. ordinary Baptism, Martyrdom, and an inward change of heart unaccompanied by any outward Sacrament. Later Schoolmen invented the terms, "*Baptismus Fluminis—Sanguinis—Flaminis.*"]

PART IV.

abortive infants as perish in their mothers' womb, both under the law of nature, and of Moses, and of grace, that except they be slain for Christ's sake (as some have been, and so become martyrs in deed though not in will, because they are not capable of election), that '*ex æquo et lege communi*'—'in equity and by ordinary right, they cannot be saved[r];' but withal they add, that 'it is not to be denied, but that by some other means or remedies extraordinary they may be saved, if so it shall seem good to God in His extraordinary providence[r].' But abortives have no greater privileges than those, who live to behold the light. Therefore we ought not to censure them for want of the ordinary means, but to leave them also to the "extraordinary providence" of God.

[Matt. ii. 16.]

[iv. Analogy of Circumcision, which was not absolutely necessary under the law.]

Fourthly, if infants which die unbaptized, be excluded from all hope of salvation, then it is by reason of that original corruption, which they derive by propagation from their parents, because 'no polluted thing can enter into Heaven[s]:' (for we know, that infants are not capable of any actual sins): but this reason is not sufficient; for the Jewish infants were as subject to original sin, and had a remedy appointed for it by God, as well as Christians, that is, the Sacrament of Circumcision; which though it should be admitted that it did not causally produce grace, yet it is confessed by the Romanists, that it did certainly procure grace[t], and was as strictly enjoined to them as Baptism is to us. "The uncircumcised male child . . shall be cut off from his people." But this notwithstanding, the Jewish infants, dying without circumcision, might be saved; neither is God more propitious to the Jewish infants than to the Christian, for "He hath loved the tents of Sion above all the tabernacles of Jacob;" therefore Christian infants may be saved likewise without Baptism. That the Jewish children might be saved without circumcision, is thus proved by the institution of God. Circumcision was not celebrated till the eighth day after the nativity; but many thousand Jewish infants died before the

Gen. xvii. 14.

[Psalm lxxxvii. 2;—"The Lord loveth the *gates* of Sion more than all the *dwellings* of Jacob."]

[r] [So Buonavent., In IV. Sent., dist. vi. art. 1. qu. 1. Resp. ad Arg.: and Alex. Alens., Summ., P. IV. Qu. viii. memb. 7. art. 1: and compare Scotus, In IV. Sent., dist. iv. qu. 3. num. 2; and Richard de Mediâ Villâ, In IV. Sent., dist. iv. art. 2. qu. 3.]

[s] [Buonavent., and Alex. Alens., &c.]

[t] [See Thom. Aquin., in IV. Sentent., Dist. i. Qu. 2. Art. 4; and Bellarm., De Effectu Sacram., lib. ii. c. 13, Op. tom. ii. pp. 190. D, 191.]

eighth day, and consequently without circumcision; to exclude all those from hope of salvation for want of circumcision, which by God's own ordinance they might not have, intrencheth too much upon the goodness of God. More particularly, David's child died upon the seventh day, and yet David doubted not to say, "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me." David could not go to him either in Hell or in *Limbus Infantum*[u]. And of this opinion St. Gregory seemeth to be, as he is cited by the Master of the Sentences; —"That which Baptism doth with us, that same the faith of the parents performed in the law of nature[x]." If "in the law of nature," why not as well in the law of Moses and of Christ? Most certainly, if infants might be saved in any one of these three states without some Sacrament or other, then in all the three without exception.

2 Sam. xii. 23.

Fifthly, it is confessed, that in the primitive times Baptism was administered ordinarily but twice in the year, that is, at Easter and at Whitsuntide[y]; and many did defer their baptization till the hour of death, that they might depart more undefiled out of this world[z]. But considering those infinite dangers which hang continually over the heads of mortal men, whilst they are in this vale of misery, and how many are swept away out of this life, even in an instant, by sudden death, by sickness, or other casualties, some sleeping, some eating, some walking; this practice had been the most unsafe and dangerous in the whole world, and the loss of millions of souls, if all persons dying unbaptized were infallibly excluded out of Heaven: especially little infants, who, being incapable of reason, cannot supply the want of actual Baptism by their hearty desires. I do not examine the grounds of this delay, neither do I justify the practice; but it argues strongly, that they did not esteem the only want of

[v. Opinion of the primitive Church as gathered from their practice of delaying Baptism.]

[u] [Compare S. Ambrose, De Obitu Valentin. Consol., § 47; Op. tom. ii. p. 1187.]

[x] [Pet. Lomb., Sentent.,] lib. iv. dist. 1. [lit. H.,—"Quod apud nos valet aqua Baptismi, hoc egit apud veteres vel pro parvulis sola fides, vel pro veteribus virtus sacrificii, vel pro his qui ex Abrahæ stirpe prodierunt, mysterium circumcisionis:" as from Greg. M., Moral., lib. iv. in c. iii. Beati Job. v. 4, Moral. xiv. The passage is from Moral. iv. Præf. iii.; Op. tom. i. p. 102. C, D. ed. Bened. Peter Lombard (as above quoted, dist. 2.) affirmed, that the infants of Jewish parents dying uncircumcised before the eighth day perished; but his opinion on this point was not followed, as e. g. not by Buonaventura, In IV. Sentent. dist. i. qu. 2.]

[y] [Bingh., Orig. Eccl. XI. vi. 7.]

[z] [Id., ibid., 4.]

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Baptism, without contempt (or as they conceived, neglect), to deprive all sorts of persons from hope of salvation.

[St. Augustin's doctrine neither that of the Church of Rome nor that of Protestants.]

You may be pleased to remember, how it was urged, that St. Austin was of the same faith with the Church of Rome in this particular. And it was then answered, that he did neither agree with them nor us in this question. St. Austin is in this a hard father to little infants, and innocents from actual sins; in that he concludes all, who die unbaptized, in Hell. The Church of Rome teacheth contrarily—that they are not in Hell, but in a certain *Limbus Infantum*[a]. The Protestants leave them to the mercy of God; and doubt not, but that many of them are in Heaven. St. Austin saith, they are certainly damned. The Protestants say, they may be saved. The Romanists say, they cannot be saved, and yet they are not damned. The Romanists say, they suffer "*pœnam damni*," but not "*pœnam sensus*[b];" a privative, but not a positive punishment. St. Austin saith, they suffer, both privatively and positively, the very fire of Hell. The Protestants believe, that many of them do suffer neither.

Observe the words of St. Austin.—

Hypog. lib. v.—"The first place the faith of Catholics doth believe, by Divine authority, to be the kingdom of Heaven, from whence he that is not baptized, is excepted; the second, Hell, where every apostate or stranger from the faith of Christ, shall prove eternal torments; the third, we know not at all, yea, we do not find it to be in the Holy Scriptures[c]."

Lib. de Merit. et Remiss. Peccat.—"Neither is there any

[a] [Bellarm., De Purgatorio, lib. ii. c. 6. (Op. tom. ii. pp. 1865. D, 1866. A.): De Amiss. Grat. et Statu Peccati, lib. vi. c. 2. (Op. tom. iii. pp. 461. D, 462. A).]

[b] [I.e. most Romanists, following Peter Lombard, Sentent. lib. II. dist. xxxiii. lit. E. See Bellarm., De Amiss. Grat. et Statu Peccati, lib. vi. c. 1; Op. tom. iii. pp. 456. C, 457. A. By "pœna sensus" is intended actual and positive torment; by "pœna damni," that pain which would ensue from the loss of eternal happiness.]

[c] [Hypognost., lib. v. c. 5; Op. tom. x. Append. p. 40. B.—"Primum enim locum fides Catholicorum Divinâ auctoritate regnum credidit esse Cœlorum, unde non baptizatus excipitur; secundum, Gehennam, ubi omnis apostata vel a Christi fide alienus æterna supplicia experietur; tertium penitus ignoramus, immo nec esse in Scripturis Sanctis inveniemus." This tract is also known by the title of Hypomnesticon contra Pelagianos et Cælestianos, and is condemned as spurious by the Benedictine editors. It is attributed to either Marius Mercator (by Garnerius, ap. Marium Mercator. Paris. 1678), or Sixtus Bishop of Rome (by the Bened. editors). And see Cave.]

middle place to any person; that he can be any where but with the Devil, who is not with Christ[d]." Discourse V.

And in his eighteenth Sermon upon the Words of the Apostle:—"He that is such an one, let him choose now where he desires to dwell, when the time is that he may be changed; for there are two habitations, the one in the eternal kingdom, the other in eternal fire[e]."

And Serm. 232.—"Let no man deceive himself, brethren; for there are two places, and there is not any third: he that shall not merit to reign with Christ, without doubt shall perish with the Devil[f]."

The like he doth [urge] De Civit. Dei. lib. xxi. cap. 25[g].

When we urge these places against Purgatory, they answer, that St. Austin "speaks of eternal places against Pelagius, who had invented a third place besides Heaven and Hell, for children which died unbaptized[h]." And in the two first places, indeed, St. Austin speaketh expressly against Pelagius; but the other are general, neither distinguishing infants nor old men, temporal nor eternal mansions. [Purgatory.]

But leaving Purgatory for the present, as not concerning the question which is now in hand, this makes more strongly against the Romish *Limbus Infantum;* which they themselves do make to be eternal, and against which (by their own confession in this answer) St. Austin disputeth. St. Austin saith, he "knew no" such place, he did "not find it in Holy Scripture." He saith, "He that is not with Christ" (that is, in Heaven, where Christ is), "is with the Devil," that is, in Hell. He makes no mean between an "eternal kingdom" and "eternal fire," between "reigning with Christ" and "perishing with the Devil." [Limbus Infantum.]

[d] [Lib. de Merit. et Remiss. Peccator., lib. i. c. 28. § 55; Op. tom. x. p. 30. D, "Non est ullus ulli medius locus, ut possit esse nisi cum diabolo, qui non est cum Christo."]

[e] [Serm. clxi. cc. 3, 4, § 3, 4. (Op. tom. v. p. 776. B.—Serm. xviii. De Verbis Apostoli, in editt. before Bened.), "Eligat modo qui talis est, ubi desideret habitare, cum tempus est ut possit mutari; duæ quippe habitationes sunt, una in igne æterno, alia in regno æterno." And see also Serm. ccxciv. c. 3. § 3, aliter Serm. xiv. De Verb. Apost., Op. tom. v. p. 1184. A—D.]

[f] [Serm. ccxcv. § 5, in Append. Op. tom. v. p. 495. E. (Serm. ccxxxii. editt. before Bened.);—"Nemo se decipiat, Fratres; duo enim loca sunt et tertius non est ullus; qui cum Christo regnare non meruerit, cum diabolo absque dubitatione ullâ peribit."—not St. Augustin's according to the Bened. editors.]

[g] [§ 1 (Op. tom. vii. p. 645. F.), "Non est locus medius, ubi non sit in supplicio, qui illo non fuerit constitutus in regno."]

[h] [Bellarm., De Purgatorio, lib. i. c. 9. (Op. tom. i. p. 1832. C.).]

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To conclude; infants unbaptized, according to St. Austin, must either be sheep or goats, either stand upon the right hand or upon the left, either hear, "Come ye blessed," or "Go ye cursed," either inherit a kingdom or be cast into "eternal fire prepared for the Devil and his angels." This is more than a mere loss of blessedness. But the Romanists do not, dare not say, that all infants unbaptized are "with the Devil," that they "perish with the Devil," that they are "in eternal fire[i]." And therefore we may conclude, on the other side, that they are "with Christ," that they enjoy an "eternal kingdom," where they reign with their Saviour; or at least, that some of them are crowned, some tormented, according to the good pleasure of God, Whose extraordinary help is then often found when the help of man doth fail.

[Matt. xxv. 34, 41.]

[The author's doctrine submitted to the Church.]

This is all which was then mentioned: which I have reduced to its heads; and which I take to be the doctrine of the soundest English divines, and which I believe to be the truth: saving always my canonical obedience to my spiritual Mother the Church of England, and in a higher degree to the Catholic Church, when it shall declare itself in a true and free œcumenical Council. But neither I, nor any Protestants, do believe, that the Church of Rome, including all other Churches of that Patriarchate or of its communion, is that Catholic Church. 983

[i] [See Bellarm., De Purgatorio, lib. ii. c. 6. (Op. p. 1867. A.),—"Est communis opinio Scholasticorum, limbum puerorum esse in loco Inferni altiore quam sit Purgatorium, *ita ut ad eum ignis non perveniat.*"]

DISCOURSE VI.

AN ANSWER

TO

TWO PAPERS,

BROUGHT BY CAPTAIN STEWARD,

JUNE 19, 1645;

BY

JOHN BRAMHALL, D.D.,

BISHOP OF DERRY.

AND

A LETTER TO MISS CHEUBIEN,

BY

THE SAME.

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DISCOURSE VI.

AN ANSWER

TO

TWO PAPERS,

BROUGHT ME BY CAPTAIN STEWARD LAST NIGHT (I THINK FROM MR. ROBINSON), JUNE 19, 1645.

[First published at Dublin, A.D. 1676, among the author's collected works.]

[CAPTAIN STEWARD'S PAPERS.]

[I. That the Protestants have no true Priests.]

The Protestants have no true Priests, because they have not the form of ordaining Priests; which was and is in the Catholic Church, from whom they pretend to derive their Priesthood.

The form of their Ordination consists in these words, "Receive power of administering the Sacraments, and preaching the Word." But by these words is not given any power to sacrifice nor consecrate the Body of our Lord.

If you say, that by these words is given power to administer all the Sacraments, I disprove it: for then the simple Priests would have power to administer the Sacrament of Orders, and to make Priests; and to give the Sacrament of Confirmation. And so, to make them Priests, you prove them to be Bishops; which is contrary to the doctrine of the Pro-

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testant Church, that holds a distinction between Bishops and Priests.

[II. That they have not the ministry of reconciliation.]

There is another part of "the ministry of reconciliation," consisting in the due administration of the Sacraments; which, being the proper Sacraments of the Gospel, must therefore necessarily have reference to the remission of sins. And so the ancient Fathers do hold, that the commission, John xx. 23, is executed by the ministers of Christ as well in Baptism as in Penitence: likewise, that the ministry only is man's, but the power is God's.

Aug., Quæst. in Levit., cap. 84[a], &c. (He cites ten places of the Fathers without the words).

AN ANSWER.

SIR,

[The author of the papers an Englishman.]

I cannot but take notice by the language, that the author is an Englishman: and surely our English Romish Priests do bestir themselves notably in these distracted times, to withdraw their countrymen from the communion of the Church of England; than which I believe the world hath no particular Church more orthodox, and in which sundry of their own learned writers do confess a possibility of salvation[b], that is, such as weigh the matter without prejudice. I know not how these distracted times may prepare some persons for 985
a change; but a generous nature, which would not easily leave a friend in distress, would be loth, upon such sublunary grounds, to bid farewell to their spiritual Mother.

[The questions started by him material.]

I commend the author thus far,—that he hath picked out two questions, which if they were as true as they are material (to wit, that we have not holy orders in our Church, nor the "ministry of the reconciliation"), he should not only gain those gentlewomen you mentioned, but all us, to fly over readily to his party. But if he fail, as I believe certainly that

[a] [Upon Levit. xxi. 15,—"Ego Dominus, Qui sanctifico eum," scil. "sacerdotem," — compared with Exod. xxix. 24, where it is said to Moses, "Et sanctificabis eum;"—"Quomodo ergo et Moyses sanctificat et Deus?"—Op. tom. iii. P. i. p. 524. B.]

[b] [See the Answ. to La Millet., vol. i. p. 79; and the Just Vindic., c. vi. ibid. pp. 198, 199: Discourses i, ii. Pt. i.]

he will, I expect no such matters from him, but only that he cease to trouble those whom he cannot better, and labour no more to draw them, or any others, out of God's blessing into the warm sun.

He argues thus.—

"They who have not the form of ordaining Priests, which was and is in the Catholic Church, have no true Priests; but the Protestants have not the form of ordaining Priests, which was and is in the Catholic Church; therefore they have no true Priests."

[The first paper:—That our form of ordaining Priests is sufficient.]

To his second proposition, I answer three ways.

1. By "the form of Ordination," he either understands the essential form, which gives a being to the thing done;—if he understand this form of Ordination, his proposition[c] is true, and the Protestants have the true form;—or else, by the form of ordaining, he understands all exterior and accessary rites; and thus it is not necessary, that the form or manner of ordaining be the same in all Churches, and so his proposition[c] is false. He cannot but know, that the form or manner of ordaining is not the same in the Eastern Churches and in the Western Churches; and yet he cannot deny, but that the Eastern Churches, as Grecia, Russia, &c., have true Priests, and a valid Ordination.

[The *essential* form of ordaining alone necessary, and retained by Protestants.]

2. Secondly, I distinguish between *the* form of ordaining, and *a* form of ordaining. "*The* form" implies, or seems to imply, that there is but one certain precise manner or ritual of Ordination in the whole Catholic Church. This I altogether deny. But "*a* form" only implies one lawful form, of sundry that have been used in the Catholic Church. This the Protestants have; and more warrantable by Scriptures, Fathers, and Councils, than their own.

[The Protestant form lawful.]

3. Thirdly, these words—"which is and was used"—would be more clearly expressed. First, "Which is used." How? Only in a part of the Catholic Church, or in the whole Catholic Church? And, "Which was used;" that is, either of late times, since innovations were crept into the Church

[The Romanist form not in use in all places at all times of the Church.]

[c] [I. e. the major of the two premisses in the syllogism above given, technically called "the proposition;" scil. that "they who have not the form of ordaining Priests which was and is in the Catholic Church, have no true Priests." Bramhall would have expressed his meaning more clearly, had he written "his *first* proposition."]

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of Rome, or of ancient times, and since the days of the Apostles. If he understand only a part of the Catholic Church, and later ages, it will do him little good. If he understand the whole Catholic Church, and all ages including the primitive times, it would advantage his cause much. But he will never be able to prove, that their form is such a form.

[The Protestant form gives power to offer evangelical Sacrifice.]

In the next section, the author, waving his former argument, which was drawn from the practice of the Catholic Church, endeavours to prove, that the Protestant form of Ordination is not sufficient. His argument may be thus reduced.—

"That form which gives not power to sacrifice nor consecrate the Body of Christ, is not sufficient."

This proposition is granted.

"But," saith he, "the Protestants' form gives no power to sacrifice nor to consecrate the Body of Christ."

This proposition is denied; which he endeavours to prove thus.—

"This form, 'Receive power to administer the Sacraments, and to preach the Word,' doth give no power to sacrifice or consecrate the Body of the Lord: but this is the Protestants' form of Ordination, 'Receive power to administer the Sacraments, and to preach the Word:' therefore," &c.

I answer, first, to the minor; that these words do not contain the whole form of the Protestants' Ordination, for there is likewise imposition of hands, both of the Bishop and the Presbyters there present, to the end to admit the person ordained into the office of a Priest or Presbyter in the Church of God.

Secondly, I answer to the major; these words do give sufficient power to consecrate; for how should he administer, that cannot consecrate? and also to sacrifice, so far as an evangelical Priest doth or can sacrifice; that is, a commemorating sacrifice, or a representative sacrifice, or to apply the Sacrifice of Christ by such means as God hath appointed. But for any sacrifice that is meritorious or propitiatory by its own power or virtue, distinct from the Sacrifice of Christ, I hope the author will not say it. If he do, he will have few partners. 986

In the third section he varies from both the former. There he thinks the Protestant ordination gives too little, here he thinks it gives too much; to wit, a power of Ordination and Confirmation, which Priests are not capable of. The argument may be reduced thus.—

[The Protestant form does not give to Priests the power to ordain or confirm.]

"If these words, 'Receive power to administer the Sacraments,' do give power to administer all the Sacraments, then they give power to simple Priests to ordain and confirm. But they do not give power to simple Priests to ordain and confirm. Therefore they give not power to administer all the Sacraments."

The minor is proved, "Because to ordain and confirm are proper to Bishops;" therefore, &c.

To this I answer, that taking the word Sacrament in that large sense which the Church of Rome doth, I might grant all that is here said without any prejudice to the Church of England, which neither suffers simple Priests to ordain nor confirm. But I answer, secondly, that in a strict sense (as the word Sacrament is taken by the Protestant Churches) neither Confirmation nor yet Ordination are Sacraments. It is folly, for Ordination especially, to wrangle about the word, when we agree upon the thing. Thirdly, I answer, that the word "all" is added by the author more than is contained in the Protestant form; which can intend no more or other Sacraments than such as are in the power of a simple Priest to administer. Lastly, the author may meet with some, and I doubt not hath met with sundry, as well Protestants as of his own party, who distinguish between the power and the right to exercise power, between an original incapacity and an ecclesiastical restraint.

[Roman orders more doubtful than English.]

But in so clear a case I need not make use of doubtful speculations to justify the Church of England; which is more certain that she hath true orders than the Church of Rome itself, both for an uninterrupted succession of pastors and for a lawful form of ordaining; whereas the validity of their orders doth depend, according to their own doctrine, upon the intention of him that doth ordain, so as if any one or more Bishops, since the days of the Apostles to this day, had no intention to ordain, all the orders derived from thence are void. And the author himself hath no true certainty,

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according to his own grounds, of his own Priesthood, or [that] that which he consecrates is the Body of Christ. But we are confident, not only that the Bishop's inanimadvertency of what he is about,—even his contrary intention being admitted, to confer no orders,—cannot deprive us of that love-token which Christ sends to His spouse by a bad messenger.

I commend the author's ingenuity, that he doth not revive those impudent fictions of the Nag's-Head, and our first reformers consecrating one another without a calling, so contrary to the known truth and to the records of the kingdom. When the author shall produce either Scripture or ancient Councils or Fathers for himself (as it were requisite he should do, who labours to draw one away from the communion of the Church which they have been baptized in), he shall receive a larger answer. Thus much (for the present) of the former paper.

[The second paper.]

The other paper is concerning a weighty point, that is, "the ministry of reconciliation." But I see not how it is intended against us. For, first, we acknowledge, that sins are remitted by Baptism; that thereby "we are made the children of God, the members of Christ, and inheritors of the kingdom of Heaven[d];" that God is not wanting to His own ordinances, when we do not set a bar against ourselves. [Secondly,] we do acknowledge, that in Penitence, pastors of the Church have a dependent ministerial power of loosing from sin; but that [the] primitive imperial original power is God's. God's power is absolute,—"*ad sententiandum simpliciter*,"—without *ifs;* man's power is only conditional,—"*ad sententiandum si*,"—to loose a man, *if* he be truly contrite and aptly disposed.

[We acknowledge remission of sins in Baptism.]

[And a ministerial power of remitting sins in Absolution.]

As for the Fathers cited, since I neither know the particular words nor the end why they are cited, it is not to be expected that any man should answer to he knows not what. 987
If the author will produce any thing to the purpose, I will shew him what we dislike.

[What we dislike,—1. in their doctrine concerning Confession.]

First in their doctrine.—1. That a private, particular, and plenary enumeration of all sins, is instituted by Christ, and absolutely necessary to salvation. 2. That it is satisfactory to God for lesser sins, not only by way of complacence, but

[d] [Catechism.]

by way of merit. 3. That it is made a colour for treasons to be committed, as Powder-treason.

[2. In their practice.]

Next for their practice.—1. That they first absolve a man, and then bind him to make satisfaction; quite contrary to reason and the practice of the ancient Church. 2. The imposing ludibrious penances, as a few *Pater-nosters* for the most enormous sins. As Chaucer saith of the Friar, that 'he [knew how] to impose an easy penance where he looked for [a] good pittance[e].' 3. In the confitents, that it is reduced to a customary formality, as if it were the ending of an old score to begin a new.

TO MISS CHEUBIEN, IN THE NUNNERY.

MADAM,

[Concerning a personal conference, desired by Miss Cheubien and her friends, upon two questions selected by themselves, viz. Purgatory and Praying to the Saints.]

That office which you are so thankful for, was no other than a branch of Christian duty, with a little mixture of civility; and now that my obligation is increased by my promise, I may not be wanting according to my power, either to the cause, to you, or to myself. Only be pleased to give me leave to represent two things, which passed at your grate: the one, my extraordinary affairs for a week; the other, the manner of conference; which I desired then, and do expect now, to be first in writing. Conferences in words do often engender heat, or produce extravagancies or mistakes; writing is a way more calm, more certain, and such as a man cannot depart from. But yet it was with this reservation, that after the business was driven to a head, if we did not agree concerning our authority, then to have a meeting, and the books present. Now, Madam, to these questions which you have singled out, after which you say you are most inquisitive; pardon me if I apprehend amiss;—it seemeth to me, that the discourse and invitation of that party have had a special influence upon your desires, to determine them to this subject, being not of so great concernment as sundry others, because they think they have more colour in antiquity for these than them. But, for your satisfaction, I accept

[e] [Chaucer, Canterb. Tales, Prologue, 223, 224.]

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these; and do expect their proofs, first out of the Scriptures, then out of the Fathers. Let us hear, first, what the Law saith, and then, what St. Augustin or St. Hierome say; to which they shall receive my answers, with our principal proofs. Let us have a meeting, in God's name, before an equal number of either party. And that this manner of conference may neither prove tedious nor impertinent, I desire that ingenuity from them, which I shall endeavour to observe, that is, to cite no Father against his own sense; as, for instance, to cite them who held "secret receptacles[f]," which are directly incompatible either with purgatory or praying to the Saints; or to cite some authorities which concern the fire of conflagration instead of purgatory-fire[g] (yet that begins when purgatory ends, according to the doctrine of the Roman Church[h]); or to cite prayers with commemorations, or thanksgivings, or rhetorical apostrophes. Thus much I am bold to present beforehand, that we may avoid confused generalities on both sides; and not speak now, when controversies have been debated to the full, as our predecessors did a hundred years since, before they understood one another's sense. And, lastly, Madam, I beg this favour from you, that this business may be managed with all the privacy and all the courtesy that may be. I will trouble you no longer now, but pray to God to give us all a right understanding, first of His will, and then one of another. And, &c.

[f] ["Abdita receptacula." Aug., De Octo Dulcit. Quæst. iii. § 4; Enchirid., c. xix.: Op. tom. vi. pp. 95. D, 174. C.]

[g] [See above in the Answ. to La Millet., vol. i. p. 59. note o; Disc. i. Pt. i.]

[h] [Bellarm., De Purgatorio, lib. ii. c. 9. (Op. tom. i. p. 1875. B).]

DISCOURSE VII.

PROTESTANTS' ORDINATION DEFENDED;

OR

AN ANSWER

TO

THE TWENTIETH CHAPTER

OF THE

GUIDE OF FAITH,

OR

THE THIRD PART OF THE ANTIDOTE

OF

S. N., DOCTOR OF DIVINITY.

BY

JOHN BRAMHALL, D.D.,

BISHOP OF DERRY.

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DISCOURSE VII.

AN ANSWER

TO THE TWENTIETH CHAPTER OF THE

GUIDE OF FAITH[a].

[FIRST PUBLISHED AT DUBLIN, A.D. 1676, IN THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTED WORKS[b].]

[The question proposed;—whether the Church of England have holy Orders; i.e. whether it be a Church.]

THIS Chapter, of all the book, is that which principally concerneth the Church of England, wherein the author endeavoureth to prove, that we have no holy Orders: which if he be able to perform, we will acknowledge that we are no Church; seeing that to the being of a Church, it is necessary these three things concur; first, a pastor; secondly, a flock; thirdly, a dependance of this flock upon that pastor. The five first sections, and part of the sixth, are wanting in my copy; which, as it seemeth to me, by the close of the sixth section, and by the whole discourse following, have been

[a] ["The Guide of Faith: or, A Third Part of the Antidote against the Pestiferous writings of all English Sectaries, and in particular, against D. Bilson, D. Fulke, D. Reynolds, D. Whitaker, D. Field, D. Sparke, D. White, and M. Mason, the chief upholders, some of Protestancie, and some of Puritanisme; wherein the Truth, and perpetual Visible Succession, of the Catholique Roman Church, is clearly Demonstrated—by S. N., Doctour of Divinity. 4to. n. p. 1621. permissu Superiorum." The first and second Parts of the book were published, with a trifling variation in the title, in 1615, and republished in 1622. S. N. are the initials of Dr. Sylvester Norris, an English Jesuit, who died about the year 1630 (Dodd, Ch. Hist., Pt. V. bk. ii. art. 5, vol. ii. p. 402). He was at Douay in 1606; but passed the latter part of his life, and wrote his books, in England.]

[b] [This Answer was written by Bramhall abroad and therefore after 1644 (see below p. 228. note j), but before 1654, as it is mentioned in his Just Vindication, c. ix. (vol. i. pp. 272, 273) Disc. ii. Pt. i. It is obviously (see p. 246. note o, below) of earlier composition than his other tract on the same subject, The Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops Vindicated, &c., Disc. v. Pt. i.; which was written and first published in 1658.]

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spent in vapouring, and light velitations, rather than in the solid stating of the question, which is not the use of our modern controvertists. In the seventh section the author begins his proofs[c].

[S. N.'s First Argument to the contrary;—from 1 Edw. VI. c. 2.]

1. His first proof is taken from the Statute of 1 Edw. VI. cap. 2:—that "from thenceforth no *Congé d' Eslire* be granted, nor election of any Archbishop or Bishop made by the Dean and Chapter, but when any Archbishoprics or Bishoprics be void, the King may at all times confer the same to whom he shall think fit by his letters patent[d]." From whence S. N. infers, that "the Bishops of those days wanted their canonical election[e]."

I am not so well read in the laws of England, as to know whether there ever were any such repealed abrogated statute. But this I know right well, that the universal practice of England is to the contrary, and that *Congés d' Eslire* are duly granted upon all vacancies: so as there was no need for Mr. Mason to forge any records to that purpose, when every registry in the kingdom could afford him sufficient store of precedents. Howbeit, I will yield more than perhaps the author knows, that in Ireland there is such a law now in force, and that accordingly Bishops are nominated by the king by his letters patent. Admitting then, but not granting, that it was sometimes so in England, what will S. N. conclude from thence? that they "were not canonically elected."

I answer, first, the question is not whether they were

[c] [In the first six sections of chapter xx. (pp. 177-182), S. N. argues (after noticing such Protestants as disclaimed succession altogether), 1. that English Bishops wanted true succession, as being thrust into sees not vacant, viz. at the accession of Elizabeth, 2. that they wanted "conformity of doctrine; which is likewise necessary to true succession," and 3. that they wanted true "election;" which last point he proceeds to attempt to prove in sect. 7, by the argument answered above in the text]

[d] [This statute was passed in the beginning of Edward's reign, on the very natural inference, that election by Deans and Chapters had been rendered a mere cumbrous nullity by the 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20, which enforced the Royal nomination under pain of a premunire. It was repealed 1 Mary, Sess. 2. c. 2, and happily not restored by Elizabeth; but it had been acted upon from Sept. 1548 to Edward's death in 1553. See vol. iii. p. 66, note k, of the present edition of Bramhall's Works, and the Preface to the same volume (in fin.). It will be seen also from vol. i. p. cxvi. note o, that Bramhall had no objection to the provisions of the statute practically, any more than he had theoretically.]

[e] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 7. p. 183. S. N. affirms, that this statute was "re-established" by Queen Elizabeth, which was not the case.]

canonically elected, but whether they were validly ordained. All men know the difference between an office and a benefice, between an ordination and an election; between the ordination of a particular Bishop, and the nomination to a particular Bishopric. They themselves do often confer the Episcopal Order to suffragans, without any election at all, even whilst the Church is full; and in their censures, do many times suspend a man from his benefice, not from his office. Because a lay-patron doth bestow a rectory upon an incumbent, doth the incumbent therefore derive his holy Orders from his patron? Many Roman Catholic Bishops, yea, and Popes also, have not been canonically elected: will he give me leave to conclude thence, that there are no holy Orders in the Church of Rome? This is an argument from the staff to the corner, drawn from Tenterden Steeple to Goodwin Sands. Holy Orders may be valid and good, though the election were naught, or not at all. So he concludes clearly beside the question.

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[That statute respects election, not ordination.]

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Secondly, doth he think, that it is essential to Episcopacy, that Bishops be elected by Deans and Chapters, or that this form was used evermore in the Church? He must pardon us, if we dissent from him in this also. That election may be canonical in one place, which is not canonical in another. That election may be canonical to-day, which is not canonical to-morrow; if the laws and constitutions of a kingdom be altered in the interim. Bishops were sometimes elected by the people, sometimes by the clergy in general[e], not always by Chapters or conclaves. Yea, sometimes they were nominated by the Christian emperor[f]. And yet all these were ever accounted and received in the Church, without the least scruple, as lawful Bishops; not only for their Orders, which is the point now in question, but also for their titles, which is not in question. He who shall peruse the old laws and statutes of England, will find, that it is no new thing for the kings of England to nominate to Bishoprics, long before the statute of Edward the Sixth, or before England had

[Election by Deans and Chapters neither essential to Episcopacy nor evermore used in the Church.]

[Either in England;]

[e] [See Bingh., Orig. Eccles., IV. i. ii.; for a summary of authorities upon the much disputed question respecting the share of the people in the primitive times in the election of Bishops.]

[f] [Compare Bellarmine's admissions, De Clericis, lib. i. c. 9. (Op. tom. i. pp. 1401. C—1403. D).]

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shaken hands with Rome[g]; and in their Parliaments to restrain the exorbitant usurpations of Roman Bishops, when they attempted to dispose of ecclesiastical dignities by way of Provision[h]. That was a violation of the canons indeed, whilst they were in force. So is not this, when the canons are legally abrogated by the consent and concurrence of the Bishops in their persons, and the whole body of the kingdom by their proctors. The very writ of *Congé d' Eslire*[i], or leave to choose, itself shews, that the Chapters could not choose a Bishop without the prince's license first obtained. And good reason. He is the founder and patron of the benefice. Those over whom they exercise jurisdiction, are his subjects. No man is so much concerned in the choice of good Bishops, as he who is virtually the whole commonwealth. If S. N. would deign to lift up his eyes beyond these present distractions, he should find, that the nomination and investiture of Bishops in England doth belong to the imperial Crown by law and custom immemorial; and that it hath been so practised, both before the Conquest, and since, as is recorded by all our historians every where[k]; as Willielmus Malmesburiensis[l], Matthæus Westmonasteriensis[m], Florentius Wigorniensis[n],

[g] [See above in Schism Guarded, Sect. i. c. 5; vol. ii. pp. 403-409; Disc. iv. Pt. i.]

[h] [See Schism Guarded, ibid. pp. 407, 408.]

[i] [For an account of the Congé d'Eslire, see the authorities referred to above in vol. iii. p. 66. note k.]

[k] [See Twysden's Histor. Vindic. of the Church of England, c. iii. § 58-71. pp. 53-64.]

[l] [Gul. Malmesb., De Gestis Reg. Angl., lib. ii. c. 8. p. 57, and elsewhere. See Schism Guarded, as before quoted p. 407; and Mason, De Minist. Angl., lib. iv. c. xii.; ed. 1625: and for the whole question, Thomassin, Vetus et Nova Eccl. Disciplina, P. II. lib. ii.]

[m] [Matthew of Westminster is far from being a willing witness on the regal side of the question. He very seldom mentions the subject at all, relating the appointments of Bishops in general terms which make neither way. In an. 1101 however (Flor. Hist., lib. ii. pp. 22, 23. fol. Lond. 1590), he narrates, that "Rex Henricus dedit Episcopatum Herefordensem Kemelino sine electione factâ contra novi Concilii decreta" (scil at Rome under Paschal II.); "ipsumque publice investivit, quod et contra juramentum suum fecit; juraverat enim solenniter se primo libertatem Ecclesiæ servare illibatam et bonas leges regni quæ statutæ erant et observatæ tempore Sancti Eadwardi:"—see the Just Vindic., c. iv. (vol. i. pp. 135, 136), Disc. ii. Pt. i.—And in an. 1107 (ibid. pp. 25, 26), he sets down the account of the compromise between Henry I. and Anselm, viz. that the king should surrender the right of investiture by ring and staff, but retain his claim to homage.]

[n] [Florence of Worcester affords unquestionable testimony to the points in question. E. g. in an. 1051. p. 420 (Chronicon, 4to. Lond. 1592), "Abbas Abbandoniensis Lundoniæ præsulatum suscepit; sed antequam esset consecratus, a rege Eadwardo" (Edw. the Confessor) "est ejectus."—In an. 1062, ibid. p. 422; "Fit unanimis consensus tam cleri quam etiam totius plebis in ejus electione" (viz. of Wulstan to the see of Worcester), "rege videlicet annuente ut quem sibi vellent præsulem eligerent."—In an. 1070, ibid. p. 435,

Gulielmus Neubrigensis[o]: all which is so evident, that foreign lawyers take notice of it, both *de jure*, that it may be so, and *de facto*, that it is so; joining in this privilege with the kings of England, the kings of Hungary, France, Apulia[p], to which number others join the kings of Spain and Scotland[q]. We may add the Emperors also, both Eastern and Western; who in ancient times have had the nomination and investiture, but always the confirmation, of the Pope himself[r]. I hope S. N. will not be so presumptuous, to censure Justinian, Charlemagne, and others; as he doth the English monarchs. Neither was this practice any usurpation in them, as the Pope's is now; but approved by the canons and constitutions of Councils, of Popes, and received into the body of the law. DISCOURSE VII. [Or elsewhere.]

To lay all this together.—Here is a law alleged, which (for any thing appearing to the contrary) was repealed, before ever it was executed; a law, which speaks only of the nomination of Bishops, which is not in question, and not a word of their Ordination, which is in question; a law, which restores to the imperial diadem that power, which the Christian emperors of the primitive times practised, both in the Eastern and Western Empire, which the most Christian King of France and other monarchs of the Roman communion do [Summary of the argument.]

repeatedly, "Rex" (William the Conq.) "dedit episcopatum,"—"dedit abbatias."—In an. 1070, ibid. p. 436; "Rex, accito de Normannia Lanfranco, . . Archiepiscopum constituit Cantuariensis ecclesiæ."—In an. 1092, ibid. p. 458; "Antistes Remigius qui licentiâ Regis Gulielmi Senioris Episcopatus sedem de Dorcaceastrâ mutaverat ad Lindicolinam," &c.—In an. 1092, ibid. p. 459; William Rufus "Anselmo.. Dorobernensem Archiepiscopatum et Cancellario suo Roberto Lincolnensem dedit præsulatum."—In an. 1099, ibid. p. 469; William Rufus "Randulfo Dunhelmensem Episcopatum dedit."—And in ann. 1103, 1107, ibid. pp. 475, 478, he narrates the compromise between Henry and Anselm as before stated. Nor is there a word in his Chronicle, or the semblance of one, tending in the other direction, unless this,—that certain Papal messengers are mentioned as accidentally present when Wulstan was elected to the see of Worcester, and as joining "auctoritate suâ" in overcoming his reluctance to accept the office.]

[o] [Gulielmus Neubrigensis supplies evidence a little more home to the question than Matt. Westminster; although even his testimony is very scanty, as he rarely mentions appointments to Bishoprics at all. In lib. i. c. 4. of his Hist. sive Chronicon Rer. Anglic. (tom. i. p. 29. ed. Hearne), he relates, that Henry II. "fratri ejus dedit abbatiam Glastoniensem ac postmodum Episcopatum adjecit Wintoniensem:" and in lib. i. c. 6. (ibid. p. 34), that the same King "Rogerum ad Salesbiriensem provexit Episcopatum."]

[p] [Car. Molinæus, Senatus-Consulta Franciæ cont. Abusus Paparum, § 35 (Op. in fin. tom. iii. p. 498. fol. Paris. 1612); and Stylus Antiquus Curiæ Parliamenti Parisiensis, P. iv. De Jur. et Privil. Regni Francorum, Priv. 2. (Op. tom. iii. p. 1915).]

[q] [See Pinsson, Hist. Pragm. Sanct. et Concordat., p. 743. a, in fin. Comment. Guimierii in Sanct. Pragm., fol. Paris. 1666.]

[r] [See above in Schism Guarded, sect. i. c. v. (vol. ii. pp. 402, 403), Disc. iv. Pt. i.; and authorities there quoted.]

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in effect retain at this day; a law, agreeing with the canons and constitutions of Councils; a law, rather declarative than operative: yet, out of a confidence in this impertinent allegation, this author is bold to impute a vehement suspicion of "wilful forgery[s]" to all the registers of England, to style their records "secret partial unknown records[t]," though they 990
be kept by sworn notaries, in public offices, whither all persons have free access; though there be an exact harmony of all the notaries and records, of different places and ages[u]. O partiality! how dost thou blind man's eyes?

[S. N.'s] Second Argument [against our Orders: —because our consecrators being revolters from the Catholic Church, heretics, and obstinate schismatics, were suspended from their Episcopal functions.]

2. His second reason, set down in form of an answer, is contained in the 8th section:—that our "consecrators, after their revolt from the Catholic Church, and obstinate persisting in schism and heresy, were excommunicated and suspended from the due execution and practice of their functions; so that, although they had been before true and lawful Bishops" (as he confesseth truly that Cranmer was, but denieth unjustly that any others were), "yet then, their authority being taken away by the Catholic Church (which, as she had power to give, had power also to restrain and disannul their jurisdiction), they could not lawfully communicate unto others that which was suspended in themselves[x]." To which purpose he produceth two testimonies out of St. Athanasius, to prove that they are not to be "accounted in the number of true Bishops, who are consecrated by heretics[y]."

[Retracted by himself in the next paragraph.]

This specious argument deserves but a short answer, [seeing[z]] it is retracted by the author himself in the next paragraph. Thus he there;—"I grant, that the character is indeleble," that is, cannot be taken away by any sentence of

[s] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 7. p. 183;—because Congé d'Eslires were "graunted forth" according to the Registers, "when by the tenour of that law they could not be graunted:" an assertion, it need hardly be said, which is not true.]

[t] [Ibid., § 6. p. 183.]

[u] [See the Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops Defended, c. v, and Table I. in the Appendix, vol. iii. pp. 71-94, 216-231: Disc. v. Pt. i.]

[x] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 8. pp. 183, 184.]

[y] [S. Athanas..] in Concil. Arim. et Seleuc. [§ 13. (Op. tom. i. P. ii. p. 727. B, C. ed. Bened.)—"Πῶς ἔτι δύνανται αὐτοὶ εἶναι Ἐπίσκοποι, εἰ παρ' αἱρετικῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ διαβάλλουσι, κατεστάθησαν;"—speaking of Eudoxius and Acacius and their party at the Council of Seleucia. The other passage quoted by S. N. is from a letter of Pope Julius, ap. Athanas. Apol. cont. Arianos, § 24 (Op. tom. i. P. i. p. 144. E),—"'Αδύνατον γὰρ τὴν κατάστασιν Σεκούνδου τοῦ 'Αρειανοῦ ἐν τῇ Καθολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἰσχύσαι."]

[z] ["being" in the folio edition, which appears to be a misprint.]

suspension or excommunication, "and that alone is sufficient, if the consecrator's intention be also right and if he use the [true] matter and form [essentially] required thereunto[a]." If "the character alone be sufficient," to what purpose is this argument? or to what purpose doth he cite Athanasius, both contrary to [his[b]] meaning and contrary to his own conscience, to prove that which himself acknowledgeth to be false? But the father speaketh not of the validity, but of the lawful exercise, of holy Orders, as the canons of the Church then were. If no ordinations be valid which have been received immediately from Arian Bishops, it is much to be feared, that a great part of Christendom want personal succession, ever since "the world mourned, and admired to see itself turned Arian[c]." What is become of the author's Christian, or English, ingenuity, to cite an author contrary to his own knowledge?

But to give him yet a more particular answer.

[i. The Protestant Bishops not revolters from the Catholic Church.]

i. First, I deny, that the Protestant Bishops did "revolt from the Catholic Church." Nay, they are more Catholic in that, than the Roman Catholics themselves[d]; maintaining a communion, for the foundations and principles of Christian religion, both with the Western and Eastern Churches, whom the Church of Rome excommunicates from the society of the mystical Body of Christ, limiting the Church to Rome and such places as depend upon it, as the Donatists did of old to Afric[e]. It is true, the Protestants separated themselves from the communion of the Roman Church; yet not absolutely, nor in such fundamentals and other truths as she retains, but respectively, in her errors, superstructions, and innovations[f]. And they left it with the same mind, that one would leave his father's or his brother's house, when it is infected with the plague: with prayers for their recovery, and with desire to return again, so soon as it is free, and that may be done with safety[f]. This was not to forsake the Church of

[a] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 9. p. 184. Bramhall had omitted the word "essentially," and for "true" written "same," unless it was a misprint.]

[b] ["this" in the folio edition, by an obvious misprint.]

[c] ["Ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est." Hieron., Adv. Lucifer., Op. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 300.]

[d] [See Just Vindic., c. ix.; vol. i. p. 257; Disc. ii. Pt. i.]

[e] [Cf. S. Aug., Cont. Litter. Petilian., lib. ii. c. 38. § 91; Op. tom. ix. p. 247. F: and Lib. de Unit., cc. 16, 17. § 42—44; ibid. pp. 367, 368.]

[f] [See Just Vindic., c. vi.; vol. i. p. 199; Disc. ii. Pt. i.]

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Rome, but to provide for themselves. "Come out of her [, My] people, lest ye be partakers of her sins, and taste of her plagues." [Rev. xviii. 4.] It is truly called the grand imposture of the world, to obtrude upon us the Roman Church for the Catholic Church.

[ii. The Protestant Bishops not heretics.]

ii. Secondly, I deny, that the Protestant Bishops were "heretics." Wherein I am not alone, but have sundry of their great Rabbies to side with me:—"The Protestants are no heretics, neither are they excommunicate," saith the author of the Monarchomachia or Image of both Churches[g]. There are but three ways to make a heretic: first, to reject something which God hath evidently commanded to be believed under pain of damnation; or, secondly, to hold some such errors, which are directly contrary to the rule of faith, and virtually imply a negation of some article of the Creed; or, thirdly, to err with obstinacy, not willing to embrace the truth, though it were sufficiently proposed. But, on the contrary, if we make the Word of God to be the standard and seal of our religion, if we constantly maintain all things, which the Holy Apostles, or blessed Athanasius, or the Nicene Fathers, have delivered as necessary to salvation to be believed, if we swerve willingly in nothing from the analogy of faith, if we be ready to shed our blood for the least particular of saving truth; I see no cause, why I may not wish, if this be heresy, that we were all heretics.

[iii. The English Protestants not obstinate schismatics.]

iii. Thirdly, I deny, that the English Protestants did "obstinately persist in schism," or that they were at all 991
guilty of schism. There are two kinds of schismatical Churches[i]. The first those, which absolutely forsake the communion of other Churches, and deny them to be the Churches of Christ; as the Donatists did of old, and the Anabaptists do now. Secondly, those, which forsake their proper place in the mystical Body of Christ; for this also causeth a disturbance, [and a] schism in the body, as if

[g] ["It is a false surmise, that we hold all Protestantes generally for Heretikes and excommunicate persons." Jerusalem and Babel, or, The Image of Both Churches, being a Treatise Historically discussing, whether Catholikes or Protestants be the better Subjects, by P. D. M. (a physician of the name of Dr. Matthew Patenson), Part ii. tit. 3. § 20. p. 573. 2nd. edition Lond. 1653, and p. 410. 1st. edit. Tournay 1623. The title of Part i. in the first edition is "Babel or Monarchomachia."]

[i] [See above in the Just Vindic., c. ii. (vol. i. p. 108), c. viii. (ibid. p. 246); Disc. ii. Pt. i.]

an inferior member should assume to itself the place of the head. The Church of Rome is accused to be guilty of both these kinds of schism[k]: first, for separating herself from the communion of the Churches of Grecia, Russia, Armenia, Abyssinia, and all the Protestant Churches; secondly, and much more, for refusing to be a fellow member with other Churches in the body of the universal Church, and challenging to be the head, the root, the fountain of all other Churches. So a member will needs usurp the place of the head; the branch usurp the place of the root; the beam, of the sun; the stream, of the fountain[l]. What marvel, if this member decay, if this branch wither, this beam be obscure, this stream dried up? Let the Church of Rome be the sister of all Churches; let her be the Mother of many Churches; but 'the lady and mistress' of no Church[m]. On the other side, the Church of England is guilty of neither of these kinds of schism; neither arrogating to itself a dominion over other Churches, nor excluding them from a Christian communion. Notwithstanding the corruption of the Church of Rome, we believe that she may still bring forth children to God[n]; insomuch that this charity of ours is urged speciously against us by some,—that we confess possibility of salvation in the Church of Rome, but they deny it unto us, therefore theirs is the safer way. A strange construction,—to make the less charitable to be the more secure way to Heaven. But not to do them wrong, all of them are not of that mind. Many of their greatest scholars, and those who weigh the points most exactly, do afford, though unwillingly, the like favour to us, that we do to them. Take the Bishop of Chalcedon[o] for instance:—"If they" (that is, Protestants) "grant not salvation to such Papists as they account vincibly ignorant of Roman errors, but only to such as are invincibly ignorant of

[k] [Just Vindic., ibid.; and compare the Replic. to the Bp. of Chalced., Answ. to Pref. sect. 3. (vol. ii. p. 43), c. ii. sect. 6. (ibid. pp. 83, 84); Disc. iii. Pt. i.]

[l] [See St. Cyprian, De Unit. Eccles., Op. p. 108. ed. Fell; and below, p. 251. note g.]

[m] [S. Bernard., De Consider. Adv. Eugen. Pap., lib. iv. c. 7; ap. Goldast., S. Rom. Imp., tom. ii. p. 88.]

[n] [Compare the Replic. to the Bp. of Chalcedon, c. i. sect. 1. (vol. ii. pp. 54-58); Disc. iii. Pt. i.]

[o] Protest. Confess., p. 151. [See above in the Just Vindic., c. vi. vol. i. p. 198. note y; and in the Replic. to the Bp. of Chalced., c. vi. sect. 5. vol. ii. pp. 205, 206: Disc. ii. iii. Pt. i. The book itself is not to be met with. The other book of Dr. Smith's quoted in the same passages,—Distinct. of Fundamentals and Non-Fundamentals,—is correctly quoted.]

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them, they have no more charity than we" (Romanists); "for we grant repentance, saving faith, and salvation, to such Protestants as are invincibly ignorant of their errors." That which he adds, that those who err invincibly are not "formal Protestants," but rather "*Protestantibus credentes*" —"such as give credit to Protestants[p]," may as well be applied by us of them;—that the salvation which we acknowledge in their Church is not to "formal Papists," but to "such as give credit to Papists," such as hold the truth implicitly in the preparation of their mind, though they want either sufficient proposal, or sufficient capacity, to overcome those prejudices, and dispel those mists, which custom or education or the like have cast upon them.

[iv. The authority of the Protestant Bishops not suspended by the Catholic Church.]

iv. Fourthly, I deny, that ever "the authority" of our first Protestant Bishops was "suspended," or "taken away," or their "jurisdiction restrained or disannulled," by "the Catholic Church." How should the Catholic Church censure them, which never met since in a General Council? As for that of Trent[q], the number of the Bishops was so small for many sessions together, sometimes not fifty, sometimes not thirty, that it merits not the name Oecumenical: to which the greater part of Christendom was never summoned, or could have any safe access;—the prelates were for the most part Italian Episcopelles, the Pope's professed vassals, guided by the Holy Ghost sent from Rome in a clokebag;—where the party accused was placed upon the bench as an infallible judge; I say, he who was the cause of all the distempers in Christendom, of the separation of the Eastern Churches from the Western, of the four Patriarchs from the first, of those tragical tumults between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, between the imperial diadem and the mitre, which set all Christendom in a combustion, and, lastly, the incentive of the present distractions of the West[r], to the

[p] [Ibid. The distinction is from Aug., De Utilit. Credendi, c. i.; Op. tom. viii. p. 45. A: drawing a difference between "hæretici" and "hæreticis credentes."]

[q] [See Just Vindic., c. ix. vol. i. pp. 257-259:—Replic. to Bp. of Chalced., c. ix. sect. 3; vol. ii. pp. 261-267:—Schism Guarded, sect. x.; vol. ii. pp. 636-640: Discourses ii, iii, iv. Pt. i.]

[r] [This was written when the war of independence between Portugal and Spain (1640-1665) was at its height. For the conduct of the Pope to the Portuguese Church during the struggle, see above in the Just Vindic., c. vii. (vol. i. pp. 224, 237-240), Disc. ii. Pt. i.]

great advantage of the Turk, and the only impediment of a reunion. Nor yet do I find any such sentence passed against them by the Church of Rome itself, as is here pretended. If there had, it was without the sphere of their activity and ancient jurisdiction. The Britannic Isles are partakers *de jure* of the Cyprian privilege, to be subject to no Patriarch but their own[s]; howsoever, in after ages, the Popes intruded themselves: which Doctor Barnes, a Roman Catholic, ingenuously confessing[t], was for his labour hurried privately into the Hospital of the Holy Ghost at Rome, and put there among the frantic persons, to try if either the usage or the
992 place would make him mad for company[u]. And, lastly, supposing, but not granting, that they had lawful jurisdiction, yet, the key erring, the sentence becomes invalid. "*Injusta vincula dirumpit justitia,*" saith St. Austin[x]; —"Justice breaks asunder unjust bonds." And St. Cyprian;—"God sometimes amends the sentence of His servants[y]."

Fifthly, admitting there was such a sentence or 'suspension,' that the judge was rightly qualified, and that the key did not err, none of all which S. N. is able to prove, yet the Romanists themselves do confess, that no sentence or decree whatsoever, or of whomsoever, or of what crime soever, can obliterate the Episcopal character, which is indeleble, nor disable a Bishop from ordaining, so far as to make the act invalid[z]. Their schools go so far in this question, that if a Bishop should

[v. Their Episcopal character indeleble, even had they been lawfully suspended.]

[s] [Just Vindic., c. v.; vol. i. pp. 157, 158:—Replic. to the Bp. of Chalced., c. v. sect. 1; vol. ii. pp. 151, 152: and Reply to S. W.'s Refut., sect. iv.; ibid. pp. 300-304:—Discourses ii, iii. Pt. i.]

[t] [Catholico-Romanus Pacificus, sect. iii. pp. 49, 50, and note e, pp. 57-62. 8vo. Oxon. 1680: reprinted in the Append. ad Fascic. Rer. Expetend. et Fugiend., pp. 826-870. A part of this tract was translated by the Rev. R. Watson, and published by him at the end of his translation of Dr. Basier's Ancient Liberty of the British Church (8vo. Lond 1661); where, and in the Preface to the Oxford edition, will be found an account of the treatise and of its author.]

[u] [See Basier, p. 40 of Watson's translation, note i. Dr. Basier, the traveller, and biographer of Cosin, first published his tract in Latin at Bruges in 1656; and both he, and Watson (who was chaplain to Lord Hopton while in exile, and a protegé of Sir Rich. Brown), must have been in constant intercourse with Bramhall during their common banishment from England. See, for Watson, above in the Pref. to vol. iii. of this edition of Bramhall's works.]

[x] [Serm. lxxxii. § 7; Op. tom. v. p. 442. G.]

[y] [Epist. lv. Ad Antonianum, p. 108. ed. Fell.—"Si vero nos aliquis pœnitentiæ simulatione deluserit, Deus, Qui non deridetur et Qui cor hominis intuetur, de his quæ nos minus perspeximus, judicet, et *servorum sententiam Dominus emendet.*"]

[z] [Concil. Florent., Instruct. Armenor. (Labb., Concil., tom. xiii. p. 535. B.)—Concil. Trident., Sess. vii. can. 9. (Id., ibid., tom. xiv. p. 777. C), and Sess. xxiii. cap. 4. (ibid., p. 863. A).]

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die actually and be raised again by the power of God, the character would remain, so as the party should need no new ordination[a]; yea, that it remains in Heaven, to their greater glory, and in Hell itself, to their greater ignominy[b]. Judge whether the author deal ingenuously in this,—to urge an argument directly contrary to their own grounds, out of an inveterate rancour against the poor Protestants.

[S. N.'s Third Argument against our Orders:—from the presumed want of a right intention in conferring them.]

3. His third argument is contained in the 6th section.—The "English superintendents, after their fall from the Roman Church, neither intended to give those holy Orders instituted by Christ, neither did the ordained intend to receive them. . . For . . the Priesthood instituted by Christ" comprehended "two" functions: "the one appertaining to the . . Real Body of Christ, to complete it and offer it to God; . . the other, over the Mystical Body of Christ, to remit sins." But with the Protestants, the consecrating Bishops "do not intend to give, nor the consecrated ministers to receive," either of these two functions; but on the contrary do "deny" them, and "[disclaim[c]]" them. Therefore, "notwithstanding their character," they "have not those sacred Orders which were instituted by Christ:" but "their ordination is a mere profanation of that Sacrament[d]."

[Dangerous consequences of the Romish doctrine of Intention.]

[i. As regards Holy Baptism.]

There is no opinion of the Roman Catholics of more desperate consequence, than this of the necessity of the minister's intention to the being of a Sacrament, especially according to the literal sense of the word. First, for Baptism, it leaves no man certain, whether he be a Christian or not. It puts it in the power of an atheistical Priest, or such an one as Judas was, to exclude out of the Church triumphant any or all those souls, which should be admitted by him into the communion of the militant Church. For if he intend not to baptize them at all, or intend to baptize them amiss, they perish irreparably, according to their doctrine; since Baptism cannot be iterated, and the nullity of this hypocritical action cannot be discovered by man, but is known to God alone,

[a] [See Vasquez, In III. Part. D. Thomæ, Disp. cxxxiv. c. 5. num. 92.]

[b] [Thom. Aquin., Summ., P. III. Qu. lxiii. art. 6. Ad Tertium: and the Schoolmen generally.]

[c] [Misprinted "disdain" in the folio edition.]

[d] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 9 (misprinted 6. in orig.) pp. 184, 185.]

Who is the searcher of hearts. Secondly, in the Holy Eucharist, it subjects every Roman Catholic to manifest peril of idolatry, to adore bread instead of Christ: that is, if the consecrater either maliciously or negligently intend not to consecrate (of which delinquency some Romish Priests have confessed themselves culpable, and have suffered for it); or if the consecrater be no Priest; which may easily happen, for want of the like intention in any one of those Bishops, from whom he derives his holy Orders, throughout a whole series or succession of sixteen hundred years' continuance. [ii. As regards the Holy Eucharist.] Thirdly, in their Ordination. It leaves no Church, not Rome itself, certain, whether they have holy Orders or not; that is as much as to say, whether they be a Church or not. For as the failing of any one link breaks a chain in sunder, so the want of this intention in any one Bishop, in a long row of seventy or eighty predecessors, breaks in sunder the chain of their succession, and leaves all those, who pretend to derive from thence downwards, without holy Orders. [iii. As regards Ordination.]

This is "the measure wherewith" they "mete out" to us; but forgetting that "a false balance is an abomination to the Lord," they have another measure to receive in for themselves. Here they mitigate and mollify the rigour of their tenet; and plane it so long with their distinctions, until they leave nothing of it remaining. First, they distinguish an intention into explicit, that is, particular or determinate, and implicit, that is, general—to do what the Church doth, or what Christ instituted. The Councils of Florence and Trent require only an implicit intention as necessary[e]. If they would allow the same favour to the Protestants which they assume to themselves, this argument were at an end; for the Protestants intend to do what Christ instituted. But their schools go yet further, and distinguish an implicit intention into actual and habitual; actual, that is, to consider really what they do, whilst they are celebrating the
993 Sacraments; habitual is that, which they have sometimes actually had, though they have it not in present then when they celebrate the Sacrament. They say, an actual intention is not necessary, neither do those distractions which [The nice distinctions by which it is explained away.] [Matt. vi.; 2.—Prov. ix. 1.]

[e] [Concil. Florent., Instruct. Armenor. (Labb., Concil., tom. xiii. p. 535. A);—Concil. Trident., Sess. vii. can. 11. (Id., ibid., tom. xiv. p. 777. D).]

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creep upon us, whilst we are celebrating those holy Mysteries, render the act done invalid; but an habitual or virtual intention, that is, an impression left in the imagination, is sufficient[f]. Many of their authors rest not here, but distinguish an intention into internal, which they say is not absolutely necessary, and external, which is nothing else but an actual application of the due matter, with an actual expression of the words prescribed by the authority of Christ[g]. This intention the Protestants allow, and never want. If the one be acknowledged to be Catholics, why are the other censured as heretics?

To his argument then I answer.—

[i. The interior intention of the consecrant not necessary.]

i. First, that the interior intention of the consecrant is not necessary to make the ordination valid. If a prince send a present to a friend by an untrusty servant, who envieth his master's bounty, or wisheth that the gift might do his friend no good, yet this shall not deprive him of the fruit of the prince's bounty. God's grace is not annihilated by the malice, much less by the negligence, of a sinful man.

[ii. Protestants have an implicit intention to do what the Catholic Church doth.]

ii. Secondly, I answer, that the Protestants have an implicit intention in their ordinations, to do what the Catholic Church doth, and to do whatsoever Christ instituted; though they are far from believing, that the Roman Church is the Catholic Church: and this is sufficient, our adversaries being judges, to the validity of holy Orders. Differences in opinion about the manner or extent of believing, do not evacuate the grace of the Sacraments. One intends to produce the Body of Christ out of the bread; another intends to adduce it to the bread. The former cries out, that adduction implies only a trans*ubi*ation, not a trans*substanti*ation; the latter thunders it out aloud, that the Body which is produced of bread, is not the same Body Which was born of a Virgin[h]. Thus their greatest champions gore one another. Yet they do not believe, that this doth invalidate the Sacraments.

[f] [Bellarm., De Sacram. in Genere, lib. i. c. 27. (Op. tom. ii. pp. 126. D, 127. A, B).]

[g] [Catharinus, Opusc. de Intentione Minist. Sacram., as quoted by Bellarm., ibid. p. 126. A, B.—"Si quis, dum puerum baptizat, intendat fundere aquam super puerum, et dicere, ego te baptizo, secundum Catharinum erit verum Sacramentum, etiamsi ille intendat aquam fundere et illa verba dicere solum ad lavandum corpus pueri a sordibus vel ad ludendum eo modo."]

[h] [See above in the Answer to La Millet., vol. i. pp. 15-19; Disc. i. Pt. i.]

[iii. Protestants intend to confer power both of consecrating and of remitting sin.]

Thirdly, to his two functions, of consecrating, and remitting sin, Protestants do intend to confer them both, so far as either Christ did confer them, or the blessed Apostles execute them. Doubtless they know their own intentions better than S. N. He who saith, "Take thou authority to exercise the office of a Priest in the Church of God" (as the Protestant consecraters do), doth intend all things requisite to the Priestly function, and amongst the rest, to offer a representative Sacrifice, to commemorate and to apply the Sacrifice which Christ made upon the Cross. But for any other Sacrifice, distinct from that which is propitiatory, meritorious, and satisfactory by its proper virtue and power, the Scriptures do not authorize, the Fathers did not believe, the Protestants do not receive, any such. This is a certain truth, that the Passion of Christ is the only ransom and propitiation for sin. He who saith, "Whose sins thou dost remit they are remitted, whose sins thou dost retain are retained" (which are the very words used in the Protestants' Form of Ordination), surely intends to confer a power to remit sins. We acknowledge, that he who is ordained, is enabled by his office many ways to put away sins. [1.] By Baptism, —"I believe one Baptism for the remission of sins;" so saith the Creed. [Nicene Creed.] 2. By the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper;— "This is My blood, which is shed for you and for many, for remission of sins:" so said our Saviour. [Matt. xxvi. 28.—Luke xxii. 20.] 3. By prayer;— "Call for the presbyters of the Church; the prayer of faith shall save the sick; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him." James v. 14. 4. By preaching the word of reconciliation;—"God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation." 2 Cor. v. 19. 5. By special absolution;—"Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted." John xx. 23. To forgive sins is no more proper to God, than to work wonders above the course of nature. The one is communicable as the other. The Priest absolves; or, to say more properly, God absolves by the Priest. Therefore he saith, "I absolve thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost[i]." God remits sovereignly, imperially, primitively, absolutely; the Priest's power is de-

Matt. ix. 5. ["For whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say, Arise and walk?"]

[i] [Form of Absolution in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick.]

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rivative, delegate, dependent, ministerial, conditional. It is true, the Protestants differ amongst themselves, whether the absolution of the Priest be declarative or operative; that is, about the manner. And so do the Romanists likewise one with another. Yea, I dare say, that their schools do scarcely ever run more [into] division than about this; which they make the Sacrament of Reconciliation[k]. So his third argument is, I hope, abundantly satisfied. 99

[S. N.'s Fourth Argument against our Orders;—from our alleged want of the true matter and form of Ordination.]

4. His fourth objection is contained in the 9th and 10th sections:—that the Protestant Bishops in their ordinations "do not use the true matter and form prescribed by Christ." As, in Priesthood, the form is "partly this, 'Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven, whose sins you shall retain, they are retained,'" which is expressed John xx. 22; and "partly this other, mentioned in the Council of Florence, 'Receive power to offer sacrifice in the Church for the living and for the dead, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,' which words" (saith he), "although they be not set down in Holy Writ in plain terms, yet the substance of them is gathered out of St. Luke chap. xxii.; and that kind of form, as likewise the form of Baptism, is delivered by tradition proceeding from Christ. The matter necessarily accompanying this latter form is the reaching of the chalice with wine" and "the patin with the Host to the party consecrated, specified also in the foresaid Council of Florence[l]." And, "Protestants," confessing that they have "pared the Priesthood which Christ ordained from sacrificing and [shrift[m]]," which the Romanists had "added to the institution," do therein confess, that "they have rejected the whole substance and pared off the very pith of Christ's heavenly Priesthood[n]." Thus he.

This is a trenchant argument indeed, if S. N. can make it good; which chops off both our matter and form of ordination to Priesthood at one blow: but we shall see this author come as poorly off, as he chargeth desperately.

[k] [See above in Schism Guarded, sect. i. c. 9. (vol. ii. pp. 454, 455), Disc. iv. Pt. i.; and Ussher, Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge, pp. 169-173. ed. 1631.]

[l] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 9. pp. 184, 185.]

[m] [Misprinted "Christ" in the folio edition.]

[n] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 10. pp. 185, 186.]

They make two distinct ordinations to Priesthood; they call them the former and the latter: *"potestas in Corpus Christi Mysticum præsupponit potestatem in Corpus Christi Verum*[o]." And though the order be one and the same, yet there are two distinct matters and forms[p]. A bold presumption this is, if it be done without the warrant of the Instituter. I do not deny, but the Church may lawfully prescribe rites and ceremonies, even in the administration of the Holy Sacraments, and other Mysteries of Religion (as we use the delivery of [the Bible in] the celebration of holy Orders). So long as unlawful ceremonies are not obtruded, nor the substance of Divine worship placed in circumstances, nor the service of God be more respected for human ornaments than for the Divine ordinance, nor excessive superfluity become burdensome; but, on the other side, they are used as adjuments of decency, order, gravity, modesty, in the service of God, as expressions of these holy and heavenly desires and dispositions, which we ought to bring along with us to the House of God; so long as they are helps of attention or devotion, furtherances of edification, visible instructors, the books of ignorant men, helps of memory, exercises of faith, the leaves which preserve the tender fruit, and the shell which defends the kernel of religion from contempt: so long they are no clogs, but excellent props, to sustain Christian liberty. But when presumptuous men begin to tamper with the essentials of Divine institution, to chop and change the matter and form of Sacraments, and to obtrude their own inventions as necessary parts of Divine worship, then they do justly incur that censure, "In vain ye worship Me, teaching for doctrine the precepts of men." They teach, that Ordination is a Sacrament; and we do not much oppose it. It is either weakness or

[The Romish doctrine of a double matter and form in Ordination.]

Matt. xv. 9.

[o] [See Vasquez, In III. Part. D. Thomæ, Disp. ccxxxix.; and Bellarm., De Sacram. Ordinis, lib. i. c. 9. (Op. tom. ii. p. 1533. B—1537. B).]

[p] [Viz. for Priests' Orders, the imposition of hands, with the words, "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, quorum remiseritis peccata," &c.; and the delivery of the patin and chalice, with the words, "Accipe potestatem offerre Sacrificium Deo, Missasque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, in Nomine Domini:"—for deacons' orders, imposition of hands, with the words "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum ad robur ad resistendum Diabolo et tentationibus ejus;" and the delivery of the book of the Gospels, with the words, "Accipe potestatem legendi Evangelium in Ecclesiâ Dei tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, in Nomine Domini." See the Pontif. Roman., pp. 58, 59; 43, 45; fol. Rom. 1645.]

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frowardness, to wrangle about the name, when men agree upon the thing. We do believe, that Ordination is a sacred rite or action instituted by Christ, wherein, by the imposition of hands, the holy Orders of Bishops, Priests or Presbyters, and Deacons, are conferred. This imposition of hands they make to be the latter ordination; this we say to be the only ordination: and that the other, of the delivery of the patin and chalice with the formal words by them used, is no part of the institution of Christ, but a 'purple patch,' or an invention of their own, first added as an indifferent ceremony, and lastly obtruded upon the Church as an essential. Neither do we say this only, but we prove it manifestly. First, by the institution itself; which was most solemnly performed by Christ, and is most punctually related by the Evangelist. There we have the very matter and the very form used by the Church of England; but of their patin or chalice, or the delivery of it, or of their formal words, "Receive power to offer sacrifice for the living and for the dead," of their new matter and new form, not one syllable. Secondly, we produce the belief and practice of the primitive Church, who knew no other matter than imposition of hands, nor other form than, "Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins thou dost remit they are remitted." And therefore they usually call Ordination by this very name, "Imposition of hands[q]." Not a Father, not a Council, not one ancient 995 author at any time, mentions the delivery of the patin or chalice, or the formal words used by the Church of Rome; even then when they describe the ordination of their days, and where this could not have been omitted, if it had been an essential. Thirdly, we produce the practice of the Greek Church[r], and all other Churches which are not of the Roman communion, ever until this day; which would not have failed so universally, so constantly, ever since the beginning of Christianity, in an essential of Ordination. And although the Greeks do not receive this new matter and form, yet the Romanists did never deny them to have true Orders, nor did ever ordain any one again who had formerly been ordained in the Church

[Contrary to the institution of it by Christ.] John xx. 22, 23.

[Contrary to the primitive Church.]

[Contrary to the practice of the Greek Church.]

[q] [Scil. χειροτονία or χειροθεσία. See abundant authorities in Morinus, Comment. de Ordin., P. III. Exerc. vii. c. 3. § 6. p. 141. fol. Paris. 1655.]

[r] [See Goar, Ritual. Græcor., pp. 250, 292. fol. Paris. 1647; and Habert, as quoted above in the Just Vindic., c. ix. (vol. i. p. 271), Disc. i. Pt. i.]

of Greece[s]. How can they admit the Grecians, wanting their new matter and form, to have holy Orders, and yet for the want of these deny the holy Orders of the Protestants to be valid? Is not this to "have the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ with respect of persons?" Fourthly, we produce a great cloud of witnesses from among themselves, of their choicest scholars[t], and such as have been most conversant in this question, who deny the delivery of the patin and chalice to be essentials of Ordination. Lastly, supposing that ceremony to be essential to Ordination, but denying that it is so, yet we have words sufficient in our form to include it; as, "Receive power to exercise the office of a Priest." He that gives the foundation, gives all power pertaining to it. Again, "Receive power to administer the Holy Sacraments." For all the essentials of their Sacrifice are contained in our celebration of the Holy Eucharist; that is, according to their schools, the consecration, and consumption of the whole or part[u]. Both these we have as well as they: the former more purely than they, the latter more eminently than they; inasmuch as with us both Priest and people do receive, with them the Priest only. It was therefore truly said by the learned Bishop of Ely,—"Take away your Transubstantiation, and we shall have no difference about the Sacrifice[v]."

James ii. 1.

[Contrary to the doctrine of many among their own writers.]

Against this the author urgeth three things, of his own head; for he produceth no reason for them. First, that though their new matter and form "be not set down in Holy Writ in plain terms, yet the substance of them is gathered out of St. Luke, chap. xxii.[x]" How? "Gathered out of St. Luke?" I wonder how, or out of what words. If St. Luke have any thing that will advantage the author's cause, why doth he touch it so tenderly? why doth he not mention it at large? Indeed St. Luke saith, Christ "took bread and gave" it; but of the patin not a word. Moreover St. Luke saith, Christ "took the cup" and gave it; but both bread

[S. N.'s argument for it from Holy Scripture.]

[Luke xxii. 19.]

[Luke xxii. 17.]

[s] [See the Replic. to the Bp. of Chalced., c. ix. sect. 6. (vol. ii. pp. 275, 276); Disc. iii. Pt. i: and Morinus, P. I. cc. iii, iv. pp. 5-16.]

[t] [Morinus, Martene, Habert, Goar, &c. See Courayer's Def. of Angl. Ordin. cc. vi, xii. pp. 93, sq. 203, sq. new transl.; and Morinus, P. III. Exerc. vii. c. 1. pp. 129, sq.]

[u] [See below p. 221. note h.]

[v] ["At vos, tollite de Missâ Transubstantiationem vestram; nec diu nobiscum lis erit de Sacrificio." Andrewes, Ad Bellarm. Apol. Respons., p. 184. 4to. Lond. 1610.]

[x] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 9. p. 185.]

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and cup were consecrated before, and given by Christ to be received, not to be used as an instrument of some new sacrifice. St. Luke saith further, "Do this in remembrance of Me." "Do this;" what "this?" this that you have seen Me do, this which is related before of Christ,—that "He took bread and gave thanks and brake it, and gave it to them, saying, This is My Body, Which is given for you." And likewise that "He took the cup, saying, This Cup is the New Testament in My Blood, Which is shed for you." All this the Protestants do more conformably to the institution than the Romanists. Here is plain celebration of the Eucharist, but nothing that makes for their new form of Ordination. If any sacrifice be intimated here, it is eucharistical,—"He gave thanks;"—and commemorative,—"in remembrance of Me." But not the least intimation of their patin and chalice in Ordination. And this the author knew well enough; therefore presently after flies to tradition,—that this "form" of ordaining, "as likewise the form of Baptism, is delivered by tradition as proceeding from Christ[y]." It is dangerous to ground the essentials of Sacraments upon "tradition" alone. Divine or Apostolical traditions are known by their universality of time and place; but this new rite wants both the one and the other. If it were universal in time, how comes it to pass, that all the primitive Councils and Fathers were ignorant of it? by whom it ought to have been derived to us. If it be universal in place, how comes it to pass, that the Eastern Churches never entertained it? Here is neither "*ubique, semper,*" nor "*ab omnibus.*" Yet I do easily believe, that the form of Ordination is as much delivered by tradition, as the form of Baptism; which is expressly set down,—"Baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost:"—unless he thinks the precise words "I" and "thee"—"I baptize thee,"—be of the essence of Baptism; wherein he is mistaken, for the Greeks observe another form—"Let the servant of Christ be baptized in the Name of the Father[z]," &c. And yet this form of baptizing in the Greek Church is allowed by the

[Luke xxii. 19.] [Luke xxii. 19.] [Luke xxii. 20.] [From Tradition.] Matt. xxviii. 19.

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[y] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 9. p. 185.]

[z] ["Βαπτίζεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα εἰς τὸ Ὄνομα," κ. τ. λ.—Goar, Ritual. Græc., p. 355. See Palmer's Orig. Liturg., c. v. sect. 6, for the form of words employed in the principal liturgies.]

Romanists themselves to be not only valid but also lawful. Therefore his third and last anchor-hold, and in truth his whole strength, is in the authority of the Council of Florence. [From the Council of Florence.] I answer, that the authority of the Council of Florence, held fourteen hundred and forty years after Christ[a], or of Eugenius Quartus, who was Pope then, is not so great, that for it the Protestants should desert the Holy Scripture, and all authority. Secondly, I answer, the Council of Florence, or Pope Eugenius, do not say, that the delivery of the patin and chalice, or the words cited by the author,—"Receive power to offer sacrifice," &c.,—were the matter and form instituted by Christ, but that they were the matter and form then used in the Church of Rome; or (to use the words of sundry Romanists[b] themselves in the very point) that they are necessary "*necessitate præcepti*" but not "*necessitate Sacramenti*," —because they are commanded by the Church of Rome, not because they were instituted by Christ. And that this is the true sense, it appears plainly from hence, that the same Council makes the matter of the Ordination of Deacons to consist in the delivery of the Book of the Gospel[c]; and yet all men know, that not any one of the Gospels were written until after the death of Christ.

In the next place he goes about to refute Mr. Mason, a [S. N.'s attack upon Mr. Mason.] "Protestant writer," who saith, that we have "purged that holy Priesthood, which Christ ordained, from the corruptions of sacrificing and shrift, which the Romanists had added[d]." So, saith he, "the whole question is brought to this issue, whether our Saviour instituted a sacrificing Priesthood, to which authority is [also] given to remit sins in the Sacrament of Penance;" and concludes, that "if the Protestants

[a] [Litteræ Eugen. IV. ad Armenos (in Act. Concil. Florent., ap. Labb., Concil., tom. xiii. p. 538. E), quoted by S. N.—"Sextum sacramentum est ordinis, cujus materia est illud per cujus traditionem confertur ordo; sicut Presbyteratus traditur per calicis cum vino et patenæ cum pane porrectionem, Diaconatus vero per libri Evangeliorum dationem. . . Forma Sacerdotii talis est; Accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium in Ecclesiâ pro vivis et mortuis, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti; et sic de aliorum ordinum formâ, *prout in Pontificali Romano late continetur.*"]

[b] [See the authorities referred to above, p. 215. note o.]

[c] [See above in note a.]

[d] [Mason, Vindic. of Eng. Orders, bk. i. c. 2, ii. c. 11, pp. 11, 94. Eng. ed. of 1613: as quoted by S. N., Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 10. p. 185. Mason is speaking of the Form of Ordination, from which he says the Reformers "pared away" certain ceremonies "partly superstitious, partly superfluous:" among the rest the added form and matter above described.]

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have pared away these Priestly functions, they have rejected the whole substance, and pared off the pith of Christ's heavenly Priesthood[e]."

[S. N.'s triple mistake.]

In the name of God, what have we to do with Christ's heavenly Priesthood in this question?—which is to make intercession and atonement for us to His Father, in respect whereof He is called our Passover, our Propitiation, our Advocate, our Mediator; as St. Austin saith,—"The same is the Priest, and the Sacrifice, and the Temple; the Priest by Whom we are reconciled, the Sacrifice wherewith we are reconciled, the Temple wherein we are reconciled; and the God to Whom we are reconciled: but Priest, Sacrifice, Temple, and all, is God in the form of a servant[f]." They are not the Protestants then, but the Romanists, who "pare off the pith of Christ's heavenly Priesthood:" who daily make as many distinct propitiatory Sacrifices as there are Masses in the world; who mix the sufferings of the Saints with the Blood of Christ, to make up the treasury of the Church; who multiply their mediators, as the heathens did their tutelary Gods, begging at their hands to receive them at the hour of death, to reconcile them to God, to be their advocates, their mediators, their propitiation, and, briefly, to do all those offices, which belong to the heavenly Priesthood of Christ. This is not all. S. N. is mistaken yet twice more in this one paragraph. First, in reducing this present controversy to these two heads: 1. Whether Christ "instituted a sacrificing Priesthood;" and 2. Whether He hath "given authority to it to remit sins in the Sacrament of Penance." "*Non de terminis, sed de possessione, inter nos est contentio*"—"This controversy is about the possession, not about the limits." It concerns the right of Priestly succession, not the bounds of Priestly power. A man may be the rightful owner of a true jewel, not adulterate nor counterfeit; and yet not know each particular virtue and quality which it hath.

[e] [Guide of Faith, ibid. pp. 185, 186.]

[f] [Pseudo-August., Lib. de Fide ad Petrum, c. ii. § 22. (Op. tom. vi. Append. p. 23. D, E): "Idem scilicet Sacerdos et Sacrificium, idem Deus et Templum; Sacerdos, per Quem sumus reconciliati; Sacrificium, Quo reconciliati; Templum in Quo reconciliati; Deus, Cui reconciliati. Solus tamen Sacerdos, Sacrificium, et Templum; quia hæc omnia Deus secundum formam servi: non autem solus Deus; quia hoc cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto secundum formam servi."]

A bragging mountebank commonly pretendeth to more skill than a true artist. When S. N. hath any thing more to say of these two subjects, he shall not need to complain for want of an answer. Here they are named, and only named, quite beside the purpose. If he think, that all they destroy the essence of Priesthood, who make the power of the Priest to be only declarative and not operative in the remission of sins, he need not quarrel with the Protestants; he will find adversaries enough at home. Thus he mistakes Christ's heavenly Priesthood for man's earthly Priesthood; he mistakes the power or actions of the Presbyterate for the essence of it; and, lastly, he mistakes the tenet of his adversaries.

[The Protestants have not "pared away" all manner of Sacrifice.]

Mr. Mason doth not say, that the Protestants have "pared away" all manner of sacrifices. First, they acknowledge spiritual and eucharistical sacrifices, as prayers, praises, a contrite heart, alms, and the like. Secondly, they acknowledge a commemoration, or a representative Sacrifice, in the Holy Eucharist. Thirdly, they teach, that this is not "*nuda*
997 *commemoratio*"—"a bare commemoration" without efficacy, but that the blessed Sacrament is a means ordained by Christ to render us capable, and to apply unto us the virtue, of that all-sufficient Sacrifice of infinite value, which Christ made upon the Cross; which is as far as the moderate Romanists dare go in distinct and particular expressions. But the Protestants dare not say, that the Holy Eucharist is a Sacrifice propitiatory in itself, by its own proper virtue and expiatory efficacy. Whatsoever power it hath, is in relation to the Sacrifice of Christ, as a means ordained to apply that to true believers[g]. In sum, the essence of the Roman Sacrifice doth consist, according to the doctrine of their own schools, either in the consecration alone, or in the manducation alone, or both in the consecration and participation; but not at all either in the oblation before consecration, or in the oblation after consecration, or in the fraction or mixtion[h]. Seeing therefore the Protestants do retain both the consecration, and consumption or communication, without all contradiction, under the name of a Sacrament, they have the

[g] [See above in the Answ. to La Millet. (vol. i. pp. 54, 55), Disc. i. Pt. i.; and in the Consecr. and Success. of Protest. Bishops Vindic., c. xi. (vol. iii. p. 165), Disc. v. Pt. i.]

[h] [Bellarm., De Missâ, lib. i. c. 27; Op. tom. ii. pp. 1046-1051.]

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very thing, which the Romanists call a Sacrifice. How is the world amused with a show of empty names to no purpose!

[Nor all manner of Shrift, or Confession and Absolution.]

Neither have the Protestants "pared away" all manner of shrift, or confession and absolution. I have shewed before in this answer five several ways, whereby the Protestants hold, that their Presbyters put away sins[i]. Nay, they condemn not private confession, and absolution itself, as an ecclesiastical policy, to make men more wary how they offend; so as it might be left free, without tyrannical imposition. No better physic for a full stomach than a vomit. Bodily sores do sometimes compel a man to put off natural shamefacedness, and to offer his less comely parts to the view of the chirurgeon. By a little shame, which we suffer before our fellow servant, we prevent that great confusion of face, which otherwise must fall upon impenitent sinners at the Day of Judgment[j].

[Corruptions in the Romish doctrine respecting Shrift.]

What are those corruptions then, which we have "pared away" from the Romish shrift? First, that they have tricked it up in the robes of a Sacrament, obtruding it upon the world as absolutely necessary to salvation, and that by Divine institution[k]; contrary to their own schools. Gratian concludes it with, "*Lectoris judicio reservatur*[l]"—"It is referred to the judgment of the reader;" and cites Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury[m] for his opinion. The Glosser[n] refers the original to an universal tradition; to whose opinion Scotus[o] inclines. Bonaventure[p] saith, that it was "insinuated by Christ, instituted by the Apostles, and promulged by

[i] [Above in sect. iii. p. 213.]

[j] [Compare Ussher's Answ. to a Jesuit's Challenge, pp. 84, 85.]

[k] [Concil. Lateran. (A.D. 1215) can. 21, ap. Labb., Concil., tom. xi. pp. 171. E, 174. A.—Concil. Trident. Sess. xiv. can. 6, ibid. tom. xiv. p. 824. C,—"Confessionem Sacramentalem . . ad salutem necessariam esse jure Divino."]

[l] [Decret. Pars II. De Pœnitent., Dist. i. c. 89. Quamvis.—"Quibus auctoritatibus vel quibus rationum firmamentis utraque sententia satisfactionis et confessionis" ("scil. an sit necessaria vel non," Gloss) "innitatur, in medium breviter exposuimus. Cui autem harum potius adhærendum sit, lectoris judicio reservatur."]

[m] ["In Pœnitentiali suo," as quoted by Gratian, ibid. See Ussher, Answ. to a Jesuit's Challenge, pp. 106-108, and Jeremy Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, Pt. II. bk. i. sect. 11, vol. xi. pp. 42, 43. ed. Heber.]

[n] [In Decret. P. II. De Pœnitent., Dist. v. c. 1. "Melius dicitur eam institutam fuisse a quâdam universalis Ecclesiæ traditione potius quam ex Novi vel Veteris Testamenti auctoritate."]

[o] [In IV. Sent., Dist. xvii. Qu. 1. art. 1.]

[p] [In IV. Sent., Dist. xvii. art. 1. Qu. 3. Respond. ad Argum.—"Et ideo confessio fuit a Domino insinuata, ab Apostolis instituta, ab Episcopo Hierosolymitano, scilicet, Jacobo promulgata."]

St. James." Panormitane[q] makes the original of it human; with whom side Petrus Oxomensis[r], Erasmus[s], Rhenanus[t]. And Lyranus[u],—that in times past it was not so rigidly observed. Secondly, that they have restrained it to a particular and plenary enumeration of all sins. "Who can tell how oft he offendeth; cleanse Thou me, O Lord, from my secret faults." But without this, say they, the Priest cannot give true judgment[x]. No? Why? Christ said not, '*what* sins ye remit,' but "*whose* sins;" giving this caution to the Presbyters, to attend more to the contrition and capacity of their confitents, than to the number and nature of their sins. Thirdly, they make it to be meritorious at the hands of God, and satisfactory for sins, not by way of complacence only, but even in justice[y]. Thus in the doctrinal part. DISCOURSE VII. Ps. xix. 12.

In the practice there are corruptions also, which deserve to be "pared away;" though this author cannot see to distinguish between the body and the botches, between the institution and the corruptions. As, that they do first absolve a man from his sins, and then bid him to make satisfaction; contrary to the practice of the ancient Church. Then, that it hath been used as a picklock to open the secrets of states and princes. Most certain it is, that many have, and too many daily do, convert it to their own advantage. [Corruptions in the Romish practice respecting Shrift.]

"Scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri[z]."

[q] [Super Lib. V. Decretal., tit. xxxviii. De Pœnitent. et Remissione, c. xii. Omnis Utriusque, § 18.—"Non est aliqua aperta authoritas quæ innuat, Deum seu Christum aperte instituisse, confessionem fiendam" (sic in orig.) "Sacerdoti."]

[r] [According to Alphonsus a Castro, Adv. Hær., lib. iv. p. 302. E. fol. Paris. 1571; and Vasquez, in III. Sent., Qu. xc. Art. 1. dub. 1. num. 3:—the latter of whom cites also Cardinal Cajetan (in Joann. xx. 21), Gabriel Biel (in IV. Sent. Dist. xvii. Qu. 1. art. 1), Jansenius (Concord. Evangel., c. 147), and Waldensis (tom. ii. c. 40), for admissions of a very similar kind. Petrus Oxomensis or D'Osma, a Professor of Theology at Salamanca in the 15th century, was condemned for his doctrine upon this subject by Pope Sixtus IV. in 1479 (Moreri—Ussher, Answ. to a Jesuit's Challenge, p. 113).]

[s] [Erasm., Schol. in Hieron. Epist. ad Oceanum sive Epitaph. Fabiolæ (inter Op. Hieron. ed. Erasm. tom. i. fol. 89. b. Basil. 1516); et Annot. in Act. xix. 8. (Op. Erasmi, tom. vii. p. 508. D, E); et Lib. de Modo Confitendi (ibid. tom. vi. pp. 145. C, 146. A); and frequently elsewhere. See his Apol. adv. Monach. Quosdam Hispan., tit. v. cont. Confess., Op. tom. ix. pp. 1062. C—1064. B.]

[t] [In Tertull. de Pœnitent. Præfat., p. 10; in fin. Op. Tertull., fol. Franek. 1597.]

[u] [In Levit. c. xvi. v. 21.]

[x] [Concil. Trident., Sess. xiv. cap. 5. and can. 4, 7. (Labb., Concil., tom. xiv. pp. 818. B, 824. A, C, D).]

[y] [Ibid., cap. 9. and can. 13. (ibid., pp. 821. D, 825. D): and compare White's Answ. to Fisher, p. 544.]

[z] [Juv., iii. 113.]

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Thirdly, the imposing of such ludibrious penances as bring confession itself into contempt; as a few Pater Nosters for murder, or adultery. Old Chaucer will tell you the reason; —He knew how to impose an easy penance, where he looked for a good pittance[a]. These are the corruptions we condemn in the confessors. There are others also in the confitents; who have many of them reduced confession to a customary formality, as if it were but to conclude an old score and begin a new.

Let them purge away these abuses of their shrift, which they have added, making it sacramental, plenary, particular, satisfactory, enforced under pain of damnation, by virtue of Christ's institution; let them cease to disorder it, to pros- 99
titute it, to profane it; and the Protestants and they will have less cause to differ about the bounds or limits of Priestly power[b].

[S. N.'s Fifth Argument against our Orders:—that our Priests are neither of the order of Aaron nor of that of Melchisedec, and are therefore no Priests at all.]

5. His fifth objection follows in the 11th and 12th sections, thus.—"If they will needs usurp the name of Priests, let them tell me . . in what order they rank themselves, in the order of Aaron, or of Melchisedec." They cannot reckon themselves in the order of Aaron, because they do not "offer bloody sacrifices;" . . "much less in the order of Melchisedec," because they do not "offer bread and wine[c]." Yet the Fathers testify, that "the priesthood of Melchisedec doth still flourish in the Church." Therefore, saith S. N., "I know not in what rank to place them, seeing they renounce both these orders: unless it be in the order of Asinius, 'the voluntary senator,'" who was "'made by himself[d];' or in the order of Don Quixote, knighted in an inn by the good fellow his host; . . or at the most they are but Parliament Priests, ordained by the new devised form of that temporal court, and authorised by the letters patent, first of a child, and then of a woman[e]."

[a] [Canterbury Tales, Prologue, 223, 224.]

[b] [See Ussher, Answ. to a Jesuit's Challenge, pp. 109, &c., for additional authorities upon this subject.]

[c] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 11. p. 186.]

[d] ["Est etiam" (in Senatu Antoniano) "Asinius quidam senator voluntarius lectus ipse a se. Apertam curiam vidit post Cæsaris mortem: mutavit calceos: pater conscriptus repente factus est." Cic., Philipp. xiii. 13.]

[e] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 12. pp. 187, 188.]

First, I answer to his scurrilous inference. "Blessed is the man which hath not sat down in the chair of the scorner;" so said David;—and the Son of David,—"Blessed are ye, when men revile you, and speak all manner of evil falsely against you for My sake; rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven." Doth S. N. think he must not one day give account to Christ for these unsavoury scoffs, especially against whole Christian Churches, which desire to serve God according to the best of their understanding? Or doth he think, that this is the way to gain upon the Protestants? The mind of man is generous; which, as it cannot choose but give assent to evident demonstration,—"*necesse est, ut lancem in librâ ponderibus impositis deprimi, sic animum perspicuis cedere*[g],"—so it is the more alienated by such bitter and biting expressions.

[Rebuked.] Ps. i. 1. Matt. v. 11.

Secondly, I retort his dilemma upon himself, thus.—If the Romish Priests be true Priests, then they are either of the order of Aaron or of the order of Melchisedec. This is his own disjunction, which he may not deny. But I assume, they are not of the order of Aaron, because they do not "offer bloody sacrifice;" as is confessed. Neither are they of the order of Melchisedec: for Christ was of the order of Melchisedec; and if they be of the same order, they should be the successors of Christ in His Priesthood; but by the consent of all Roman schools, they are not the successors of Christ, but His ministers. Again, the law being translated, the Priesthood must of necessity be translated also; but the law is translated, from the law of nature, and from the law of Moses, to the law of grace; therefore the Priesthood is translated also. And, by necessary consequence, the Roman Priests are neither of the order of Aaron, nor of the order of Melchisedec. I leave the conclusion to S. N.; whether he will shake hands with Asinius, and Don Quixote; yea, or no.

[Retorted.]

[See Heb. vii. 12.]

Thirdly, to the matter of his argument I answer, that the two horns of his dilemma are neither so sharp, nor so close, but that the Protestants may find a ready and a safe passage between them: that is, there is a third kind of Priesthood,

[Answered.]

[g] [Cic., Tusc. Disp., v. 17.]

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or Presbyterate, distinct from both these, which was first instituted by Jesus Christ, and had no being in the days either of Aaron or Melchisedec, having another matter and form, and all the essentials different. This is that order, which the Protestants do lay claim to; and so do the Romanists also, whatsoever S. N. discourse to the contrary. So little weight is there in his argument, that it scarce deserves an answer.

Fourthly, when the Fathers or any of them do say, that "the Priesthood of Melchisedec doth still flourish in the Church," either they speak of the heavenly Priesthood of [Ps. cx. 4.] Christ (Who is indeed a "Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec"), and not of the Priesthood of men; or else they speak according to a certain analogy and proportion between the one and the other, in respect of some things common to both, and not as if they were the same[h].

Lastly, S. N. might well have spared his sarcasms of "a child" and "a woman." By the law of England the king never dies, never is a minor; the regal diadem purgeth away [2 Chron. xxiv. 1.] all defects of sex and age. Let him carp at the acts of Jehoash also, because he was a child. As for his "Parliament Priests," and whether the Parliament be a "temporal court," will come more fitly to be answered in the next section.

[S. N.'s Sixth Argument against our Orders:—that they were devised and conferred in the first instance by secular persons.]

6. The author having spent all his store which he had out of the Scriptures, Councils, and Fathers, and right reason, 999 in the sixth place goes about to convince us by our own Acts of Parliament, by the letters patent of our princes, and by the testimony of our writers. His next argument is con-

[h] [S. N. quotes, among others, Theophylact., in Hebr. c. v. (v. 5; Op. tom. ii. pp. 677. E, 678. A. Venet. 1755);—Epiphan., Adv. Hær., (lib. ii. tom. 1.) Hær. 55. (Op. tom. i. pp. 471. D, 472. A);—August., De Civ. Dei, lib. xvi. c. (22. Op. tom. vii. p. 435. A.); Cont. Adversar. Leg. et Proph., lib. i. (c. 20. § 39; Op. tom. viii. p. 570. F);—Ambros., Enarrat. in Ps. xxxviii. (Op. tom. i. p. 853. B, C);—Leo. M., Serm. ii. in Anniv. Assumpt. Suæ ad Pontif. (c. 1; Op. tom. i. p. 104. ed. Quesnel);—Eucher., in Gen., lib. ii. c. 18. (ap. Biblioth. PP., tom. v. P. i. p. 805. F.—a spurious work);—Primas., in Hebr. c. v. (ibid., tom. vi. P. ii. p. 123. E).—Bramhall's explanations are applicable, one or both, to all these passages. Compare also the quotations and reasoning of Bellarm., De Missâ, lib. i. c. 6. (Op. tom. ii. pp. 960. B, 964. B). The citations prove, that the Fathers interpreted the eternity of Melchisedec's Priesthood, 1. by the eternal Priesthood of Christ in Heaven, and 2. also by the perpetual continuance of a Priesthood of men in the Church, and the Sacrifice in the Eucharist:—in both cases, as a type or figure.]

tained in the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th sections. —"No secular princes or temporal magistrates, . . either apart or assembled together in public Parliament, . . have authority to confer ecclesiastical Orders; but the order of ministry which our Gospellers challenge, was, both in King Edward's and Queen Elizabeth's days, wholly devised and primarily conferred by their secular and temporal authority[1]." His former proposition he proves, but to no end; for we readily admit it,—that no secular persons can confer ecclesiastical Orders. How he labours to prove his latter proposition, we shall see presently. In the mean time,—

[An ordination otherwise valid, not rendered invalid by the acceptance or ratification of the temporal power.]

Be it known unto S. N., that we do not ascribe unto our Parliament any authoritative or operative power, to make them Priests who want the essentials of Priesthood; but a declarative or receptive power, to receive such for true Priests who are ordained according to the institution of Christ. Neither yet is our Parliament a mere "temporal court;" wherein our Bishops had their votes, our clergy their proctors. But of this more anon. If the ordination be valid in itself, having a right minister, a due matter, and a true form, all the Parliaments and Councils in the world, all the edicts of princes, cannot render it absolutely invalid. On the other side, if the ordination be invalid in itself, and want any of the essentials of Ordination, all the canons and acts or edicts, of all the princes or Parliaments and Councils in the world, cannot make it valid. So as, whatsoever he shall allege in this kind, may perhaps have some pretence against the Acts or letters patent, but cannot impeach or prejudice the ordination. Our Form of Ordination is extant, and published to the view of the world in print. If he have any thing to say against it, let him speak out: we desire no favour: or otherwise, he doth but shew his teeth without hurting us. When that which he would impugn, is exposed to his view, why doth he not bend his forces against it, but inquire after it of others, to try if he can pick any advantage out of their words, to make the world believe it is that, which in truth it is not? Either our Form of Ordination agrees with the institution of Christ, or not: if it do not agree, let S. N. shew wherein it is repugnant or defective; if it do agree (as

[1] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 13. p. 188.]

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most certainly it doth, otherwise the primitive Church and the Church of Greece to this day hath no right ordination), then all which he allegeth is vain; and all that he saith is reduced to this sum, that our synods have devised, our Parliaments have received, our kings have authorized within their realms, such a Form of Ordination as is agreeable to the institution of Christ.

[S. N.'s proofs, that secular persons "primarily conferred" our Orders.]

But that he may not complain that he is cut off too short, and to vindicate (not our holy Orders, which stand or fall according to Christ's institution, and are not concerned in these allegations, but) our kings, and Parliaments, from his aspersions; let us hear what he can say. And if we had the statutes, patents, and dispensations themselves, which in this strange place[k] we want, it would appear more manifestly, that they are wrested to a quite different sense to that which they intended. But taking them upon trust from S. N., they are so far from being, as he styleth them, unanswerable testimonies, that they are altogether impertinent to the question.

[i. The statute of Edw. VI. (and commissions taken out under Hen. VIII.) attributing spiritual jurisdiction to the king as its fountain and source.]

i. First, he produceth a statute made *primo Edwardi VI.*: —that "Archbishops and Bishops should send out their processes in the name of the king, and not in their own names;" giving this reason, "that all authority of jurisdiction, spiritual and temporal, is derived from the King's Majesty, as supreme Head of the Church of England[l]," &c.

Great palaces will never want their moths, nor great persons their parasites; who are ready to flatter greatness, to blow the coals of ambition, and to adorn their masters, like Æsop's daw[m], with stolen plumes[n]: such as the canonists were to the Popes. It would better become S. N. and me, to give unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and unto God that which is God's. I have never seen any such statute: and if there were, this is most certain, it was either presently

[Luke xx. 25.]

[k] [Viz. Holland, most probably; this tract having apparently been written between 1644, when its author first quitted England, and 1654. See above p. 199. note b.]

[l] [1 Edw. VI. c. 2; as quoted by S. N. ibid.—It is the Act abolishing elections by Deans and Chapters, and substituting a simple nomination by the king: it provides also, that all ecclesiastical processes thenceforth should be in the king's name, but the teste in the Bishop's name: and was repealed 1 Mary, Sess. 2. c. 2. The commissions mentioned below, were required by an Act of Council.]

[m] [Horat., Epist., I. iii. 18-20.—&c.]

[n] [See above in the Replic. to the Bp. of Chalced., c. iv. sect. 1. (vol. ii. pp. 127-130); Disc. iii. Pt. i.]

abrogated, or never executed; for the universal practice of all the ecclesiastical courts in England is contrary, and did ever use to send out their citations in the Bishop's name[o]. But yet I will conceal nothing that may conduce to the finding out the truth. I confess, I have seen a commission, bearing date in the days of Henry the Eighth; wherein such a like clause was inserted, for the derivation of all the authority of ecclesiastical jurisdiction from him[p]. And therefore,
1000 supposing that there might be some such repealed statute, let us see what might be the sense of it, and how impertinent it is to this purpose.

[The Parliament not a merely temporal court.]

But, first, by his leave, I must admonish him again of his mistake, in reputing the Parliaments of England to be mere "temporal courts," and conventions only of secular men. Wherein our Bishops ever had their votes, even until these present distractions, in the House of Peers; and the inferior clergy, [by] their proctors, in the House of Commons: until Cardinal Wolsey, out of an overweening strain of wit, contrived and effected a distinction of that mixed body into two assemblies, the one secular, the other ecclesiastical[q]; which latter is called the Convocation or Synod, which sits always at the same time with the Parliament, where that is first concluded concerning religion, which after is received into the House of Commons, and ratified by the King, with the consent of the Lords. I add more,—that, by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom of England, the Parliament, which then was called the Great Council, the Mickle Synod, the Senate of Wise Men, did evermore consist both of secular and ecclesiastical persons, who conjointly did manage all the great affairs both of Church and commonwealth[r]. Let S. N. cast his eyes upon the old Britannic

[o] [Gibson, Codex, pp. 925, 926.]

[p] [Bramhall refers of course to the commission taken out by Bonner in 1539, which is in Burnet, Hist. of Ref., Pt. I. bk. iii. Rec. num. 14. But Collier (Ch. Hist., Pt. II. bk. iii. vol. ii. pp. 169, 170, in part from Wharton) has shewn, that Bonner's was neither the first nor a single instance. On the contrary, such commissions appear to have been generally taken out by the Bishops so early as 1535, and again in the first year of Edw. VI. See also Burnet, Pt. II. bk. i. Rec. num. 2.]

[q] [Bramhall's authority for this statement seems to have been the De Antiq. Brit. Eccl., in V. Warham., p. 313; but his account does not exactly tally either with that book or with the facts, although his doctrine is indisputable. See Wake's State of the Church, c. viii. pp. 391-394.]

[r] [See Spelman, Gloss. sub voce Parlamentum;—Brady, Introd. to Hist. of Engl., Tract. i. pp. 7-10;—Sharon Turner, Hist. of Anglo-Saxons, bk. x. c. 4.]

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and Saxon Councils or Parliaments, published not long since by Sir Henry Spelman[s]; and he shall see this clearly verified. He shall find the nobles together with the Bishops, making laws and constitutions for the Church, and subscribing them; —"*Ego Dux subscripsi, Ego Comes subscripsi.*" He shall find these acts of theirs ratified by the king, and published in his name, by his authority, as his laws. The very like custom we find in France, and other kingdoms, in the days of Charles the Great[t]. It is true, that the succeeding Popes, upon pretence of some later canons, did watch all opportunities, when they found weak or embroiled princes, to crop the peculiar flowers of the crown, as patronage and investitures; which was the cause of much bloodshed in England, by inciting the subjects under the mask of religion against their sovereign[u]. But for the supreme judicature of Parliament in all causes, and the legislative power in all affairs, ecclesiastical as well as civil, which concerned the whole kingdom jointly with the king, it had been folly to attempt upon it.

[Jurisdiction a distinct thing from holy Orders.]

Secondly, for the matter of his allegation, I answer, that there is a double power ecclesiastical, of order and of jurisdiction; which two are so different the one from the other, as themselves both teach and practise, that there may be true Orders without any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and an actual jurisdiction without holy Orders. Judge then, how much this author fails in his performance. He undertakes to prove, that our holy Orders were "devised" and "conferred" by laymen. But he leaves the Orders in the plain fields, to busy himself about the power of jurisdiction; which is nothing to his question. This is a second defect in his argument. He concludes not contradictorily.

[What kind of jurisdiction in things ecclesiastical is attributed to the kings of England.]

Thirdly, the Romanists themselves do also distinguish between an habitual jurisdiction, which is conferred at the time of ordination; and an actual jurisdiction, or a right to exercise this habit, by the application of the matter or subject. In the latter, the lay-patron, and much more the prince and the commonwealth, have their respective interests and con-

[s] [Fol. Lond. 1639. tom. i. See pp. 257, 301, 339, 347, 434, 442, 486, 489, 509, 533.]

[t] [See the Just Vindic., cc. vi. vii. (vol. i. pp. 172, 205), and Schism Guarded, sect. i. c. 5. (vol. ii. pp. 414, 415); Disc. ii. iv. Pt. i.]

[u] [See the Just Vindic., c. iv. (above in vol. i. pp. 148, 149); Disc. ii. Pt. i.]

currence. Dioceses and parishes were not of Divine institution. And the same persons were born subjects, before they were made Christians. Especially this reason hath place in England, where the jurisdiction ecclesiastical is enlarged and fortified by the king with a coercive power. It is not then habitual jurisdiction (which is conferred by Ordination), nor yet actual jurisdiction in the court of conscience, nor the power of the Keys, nor any part or branch thereof, which is derived from the crown; but it is a right to practise that power over the persons of the king's subjects, which is used in the exterior or contentious court, and that *sub modo*—as it is exercised in England, by the grace and indulgence of Christian princes, and by the laws of the realm; or, rather, it is the regiment and the government of that power, which is vindicated to the crown, to see that clergymen do their duties in their places, as well as all other the king's subjects, and administer right justice in such causes as the laws of the land have submitted to their censures; as, for instance, in causes testamentary, and the like[x]. This the Statute calls the "authority of jurisdiction;" that is, the coercive and compulsory power of summoning the king's subjects by processes in these cases, which is indeed from
1001 the crown, and the regiment of it, by applying or substracting the matter. Thus far then we allow, that the kings of England neither have any part of the power of the Keys, nor can derive the same to any others; and if any Parliament should declare the contrary, we might well express our obedience in submitting, but never yield our assent to believe it.

Fourthly, they, the kings of England, are indeed in our laws called "The supreme Heads of the Church within their dominions[y];" but how? Not spiritual Heads, nor yet ecclesiastical Heads; so as S. N. need not fear our deriving our Orders from them: but civil Heads, by an influence of coercive or corroboratory power, by applying or substracting the matter, by regulating the exercise, by punishing the delinquencies of ecclesiastical judges; that is as much as to

[The meaning of their title of Head of the English Church.]

[x] [See the Replic. to the Bp. of Chalced., c. iv. sect. i. (vol. ii. pp. 129, 130); Disc. iii. Pt. i.]

[y] [i. e. some of them *were* so called, for the title has been dropped ever since the reign of Philip and Mary. See above, in the answer to La Millet., vol. i. p. 29. note y; Disc. i. Pt. i.: and Just Vindic., c. iii.; vol. i. pp. 114-116; Disc. ii. Pt. i.]

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say, as supreme governors: as Saul is called "the Head of the tribes of Israel," yea, of the tribe of Levi amongst the rest, the High-Priest himself not excepted; yet neither had the kings of Israel then, nor have ours now, any right to exercise themselves any part of the Priestly function.

[1 Sam. xv. 17.]

[ii. The royal letters patent conferring Bishoprics; i. e. the benefices.]

ii. S. N. proceeds thus,—"You have heard before, how by the king's letters patent Archbishop[ric]s and Bishoprics were conferred[z]."

True; and so they did, when Popery was at the highest, in its zenith; and not only "conferred" them, which they might do justly, but sometimes unjustly detained the Bishoprics in their hands for many years together, until the king was pleased to issue out his writ of "*Manum amoveas*" to the Sheriff[a]. What of all this? The benefices were conferred by the king's letters patent, but the offices were conferred by the ordination of Bishops. It is not the benefice, but the office, which is now in question.

[iii. Henry the Eighth's Commission to Cromwell.]

iii. In the third place, S. N. urgeth out of Mr. Foxe, "that Henry the Eighth imparted to the Lord Cromwell the exercise of this supreme spiritual regiment, making him his vicegerent for and concerning all [his] jurisdiction ecclesiastical[b]."

It appears then, that the supreme government of the crown in causes ecclesiastical was not first assumed by the Protestants; seeing this author proveth, that it was practised by Henry the Eighth, who persecuted the Protestants for their conscience, and continued a Roman Catholic unto his dying day. And what he did, was approved and maintained by the Roman Catholic Bishops of those days; yea, even by those who were the most bitter enemies to the Protestants, and the greatest zealots, I had almost said, bigots, of the Roman Church: as appeareth by their acts, their subscriptions, their books written in defence of this supremacy of princely regiment, as particularly that of Stephen Gardiner

[z] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 13. p. 189. See above in sect. i. pp. 200-204.]

[a] [William Rufus, for instance, held in his hands, at the time he was killed, the temporalties of three Bishoprics, Canterbury, Winchester, and Salisbury, and of nine abbeys (Flor. Wigorn., Chron., in an. 1100, p. 471;—Matt. Westmon., Flor. Hist., lib. ii. p. 21, in an. 1100); but it is to be feared, that Queen Elizabeth was quite as rapacious, to say nothing of Henry VIII.]

[b] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 13. p. 189: from Foxe, vol. ii. p. 421. ed. 1684. The commission itself is in the records to Collier, vol. ii. num. 30.]

Bishop of Winchester, *De Verâ Obedientiâ*[c]. It may well be, that the Lord Cromwell was made supreme delegate or commissioner by Henry the Eighth; or perhaps invested with a power to name delegates, as the Lord Chancellor now doth; and that the prince did confide principally in him for the prudential part, or the managery thereof[d]. But the kings of England never grant commissions of that nature to one single layman, how dear soever he be; but conjointly to him with others of maturity of judgment, of dexterity and skill in the laws, and also qualified by their callings to act by excommunication, or absolution, according to the exigence of the matter. In brief, Henry the Eighth did not "impart" holy Orders, nor habitual jurisdiction, but constituted delegates, by his commission, to hear appeals, to see justice administered; as all his predecessors had done before him. This neither concerns us nor the matter in hand.

iv. S.N. adds—"In the first of Queen Elizabeth's reign a statute was enacted, whereby all spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority is united and annexed to the imperial crown of the realm," and "all foreign usurped power, jurisdiction, and preeminence, clearly extinguished, and by solemn oath renounced: . . in so much as doctor Whitgift placed in the Queen the fulness of all ecclesiastical government, from whom all ecclesiastical power . . is derived to Bishops;" and that she 'exerciseth her Church government by Archbishops, as she doth her temporal by the Lord Chancellor[e];' which "power," saith he, "was never heard of before in any Christian, heathen, or Turkish commonwealth[f]."

[iv. The Statute of the 1 Eliz. c. 1.]

If S. N. have cited his other testimonies with the same faith that he doth this, it is to be wished that his readers be not over credulous, but observe that old rule which Tully

[c] [See Just Vindic., c. iii.; vol. i. pp. 121, 122: and the corresponding passages in the Replic. to the Bp. of Chalced., and in Schism Guarded, in vol. ii.: Discourses i, ii, iii. Pt. i.]

[d] [See Collier, Ch. Hist., Pt. II. bk. ii. vol. ii. pp. 103, 104. Cromwell was appointed to be the King's "Vicemgerentem, Vicarium Generalem ac Commissarium specialem et principalem," in the entire ecclesiastical supremacy then arrogated by Henry, "cum potestate alium vel alios commissarium sive commissarios" (nominandi): as is set forth in the commission before quoted.]

[e] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 13. p. 189: from Whitgift (Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition, against the Replie of T. C.), Tract. viii. c. 3. div. 33. (p. 381. fol. Lond. 1574), who affirms, that "the Archbishop doth exercise his jurisdiction under the prince, and by the prince's authority."]

[f] [Guide of Faith, ibid. § 14.]

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calls the "nerves and sinews of wisdom,"—"Remember to distrust[g]:" for neither this statute, nor any other in England, doth invest the crown with any new power, but only re-establish that, which former kings enjoyed, and which of later times the Court of Rome had usurped; nor yet doth it meddle with the power of the Keys, or any branch thereof, nor with any subordinate jurisdiction at home or abroad. The king cannot consecrate, nor ordain, nor do any act of spiritual jurisdiction, properly so called. But that power which this and other statutes do vindicate to the crown, is a supremacy or sovereignty of regal power in the king of England, according to the example of his predecessors, by custom immemorial, to dispense with the transgression of the laws of the land, to dispose of the greater dignities of the Church, to prohibit the proceedings of ecclesiastical courts in case of encroachment, to receive appeals and to sentence them by fit delegates, to make laws ecclesiastical with the advice of his clergy and Great Council, and to do all things necessary for that great and architectonical end, the "safety of the commonwealth." That power of which it depriveth the Bishop of Rome, is an usurped power; to dispose of the dignities of the Church, to depose the king, or dispose of his dominions, to exercise a dominion in his Majesty's realms upon his subjects, contrary to his pleasure, by Roman legates. And whereas S. N. fancieth, that this is such a power as "never was heard of in any Christian, Turkish, [or] heathen commonwealth," he is much mistaken. Under the law of nature, the same persons were both kings and Priests; under the law of Moses, David, and Solomon, and other kings of Israel, did exercise the same power over their subjects. In the like manner did the primitive emperors. Yea, it is used to this day by Roman Catholic princes. The most Christian king of France gives ecclesiastical preferments without his leave obtained; the legates of the Roman Bishop may do nothing in France; and in his Parliaments he makes sanctions for the affairs of the Church; and this ever since the days of Charles the Great[h]. The Parliament Rolls, the

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[g] ["Νῆφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν." Epicharmus, ap. Cic., Ad Attic., i. 19.]

[h] [See Schism Guarded, sect. i. c. 5. (vol. ii. pp. 403, sq.); Disc. iv. Pt. i.]

Bishops' registers, the records of the King's Bench and the Common Pleas, do all prove that this is no innovation in England;—for the king himself, for the judges in his name, to interpose in ecclesiastical affairs[i]. Lastly, what Doctor Whitgift saith, is no more than that which Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, a great persecutor of the Protestants, a great servant of the See of Rome, saith before him:—that the commonwealth is like a great family, wherein there are several offices; as, for instance, the divine, the physician, the schoolmaster; every one of which is principal or supreme in his own way: but yet that the master of the family, that is, the prince, hath an œconomical power paramount above them all, to see that they do not abuse their trust, and to dispose of their actions for the public good[k].

[S. N.'s proofs, that secular persons "wholly devised" our holy Orders.] [i, ii. The Statutes 3 Edw. VI. c. 12, and 8 Eliz. c. 1.]

In the next place, S. N. goes about to prove the other part of his former assumption,—that our holy Orders were "wholly devised by temporal authority:"—because there was an Act of Parliament made, 3 Edw. VI. chap. 12, "that such Form" of Ordination or Consecration of ecclesiastic persons, "as by six prelates, and six other persons learned in God's law" (that is, divines and civilians), "should be devised and published under the Great Seal of England," should "be lawfully exercised and no other, any statute, law, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding;" and by another statute, 8 Elizabeth [c. 1.], they which which were so ordained, were "declared, confirmed, and enacted, to be Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, rightly made, ordered, and consecrated, any statute, law, canon, or other thing, to the contrary notwithstanding[l]."

[Answer.]

i. ii. I should not vouchsafe this argument an answer, it is so weak and disjoint; but that I would omit nothing[m]. Here is "devised" indeed, but where is "*wholly* devised?" "Devised" for the exterior manner or form, in language, ceremonies, circumstances, and accidentals; not devised for the essentials, or for the substance: devised according, not

[i] [See Schism Guarded, ibid. c. 6, pp. 430, sq.]

[k] [De Verâ Obedientiâ, in Append. ad Fasciculum Rer. Expetend. et Fugiend., pp. 814, 815.]

[l] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 14. pp. 189, 190.]

[m] [See the history of this Act of Elizabeth, in The Consecr. of Prot. Bps. Vindic., c. v. (vol. iii. pp. 79, 82, and note p), c. vi. (ibid. pp. 94-96), c. viii. (ibid. pp. 113, 114); Disc. v. Pt. i.]

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contrary, to the institution of Christ, and the practice of the primitive Church: with a "*non obstante*," or "notwithstanding," the statutes, laws, canons, or customs of the realm, or any "other thing," that is, the Pope's Bulls, or the like; but here is no "*non obstante*" to the law of God, or to the institution of Jesus Christ. "Shall be lawfully exercised, and no other." It is the "exercise" of that form which is authorized, rather than the form itself; or the form only in relation to the use, to take away all doubts which might arise about it in the law of the land; not to determine any theological questions or disputes, or to alter the nature of it. It was to be done by "prelates," and "other persons learned in God's law." Here was no intention to deviate from God's law. If every form of Church-service or administration of the Sacraments, or Ordination, which receives any addition or alteration in prayers, or ritual accidents, or in the cir- 100
cumstances of time, place, persons, garments, according to the present exigence, may be called a Form "wholly devised" by men, or become therefore presently unlawful; it is most certain, that the Roman Liturgy, Missal, and Ordination, have been thus "devised" over and over again. In sum, the Form itself is extant, to confute these "devices;" agreeable to the institution of Christ, to the practice of the primitive Church. The corroboratory authority and confirmation of Parliament, doth not render that unlawful, which is lawful in itself.

But against this, the author hath sundry exceptions.—

One is, that the statute doth "not only 'declare'" them, "but 'enact' them, to be Archbishops," &c.; if they were validly ordained before, "this Act availed them nothing" at all[n]. The answer is easy. "*Redundans non vitiat*," as the law saith; "a redundant" or superfluous word may serve to take away a needless scruple, but "doth not vitiate" the Act. We do often find the word 'enacting' in a declarative statute; but never find the word 'declaring' in a statute, which is merely operative, and creates a new law. Statutes are not always so clearly penned at first, but that they need an explanation to prevent quirks and evasions. Concerning this statute, it is both declarative,—to shew that their ordination

[n] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 15. p. 190.]

was valid in itself;—and also operative,—to make it legal, or to render the legality more undoubted.

His second exception follows next:—'Suppose their installation and inauguration was invalid, either the Parliament had power to make it valid, or they had not power;' if they had, then there needed "no other ordination but the royal assent of the Queen and the approbation of her nobility;" if they had not "power to do it," then "it was an unjust act of usurpation, and a great want of wisdom in that honourable assembly, to make a law not appertaining to their office[o]."

I answer, first, that the author still forgetteth the right composition of the English Parliament; which, besides the king and the nobility, comprehends also the clergy and the commons. Secondly, he confounds "installation and inauguration," which pertain to the benefice, with "Ordination," which respects the office. Thirdly, he disputes "*ex non concessis*," supposing that as granted, which is by us absolutely denied; that is, that their Orders were invalid; and so he doth but beg the question. Fourthly, he concludes not contradictorily. We grant his conclusion;—that no other ordination was essentially requisite to the validity of their Orders, and that the authority of Parliament was sufficient to declare or render them legal. Lastly, admitting that the Parliament hath not power to make those Orders valid which were essentially invalid, yet, being essentially valid, to declare or make them valid in the eye of the law, and relatively to the English subject, was no usurpation in them, but a just and wise act pertaining to their office. Suppose the king and Parliament shall naturalize a stranger; they do not make him a man,—that he was before,—but they make him an Englishman, and give him a legal capacity to purchase and inherit, which formerly he had not. Or suppose the king, by his proclamation, shall make outlandish coin, as pistoles, crowns, ducats, current amongst his subjects, according to their true value; he were a weak arguer, who should conclude from thence, that before that proclamation they were counterfeit. The intrinsecal value was the same before and after the proclamation; but it gives them a legal value, and renders them

[o] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 15. p. 190.]

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current; so as thenceforward no subject may refuse them, as formerly they might.

[iii. The Queen's dispensations in the case of Abp. Parker and the other Bishops consecrated at that time.]

iii. S. N.'s third reason to prove his former proposition,—that our orders were "devised and conferred wholly by temporal authority,"—is drawn from the Queen's "dispensations, to make good the consecrations of Dr. Parker and other intruders" (so he pleaseth to call them), "ordained in the second and third of her reign; whereby she dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability, that could or might be objected in any wise against the same:" but "no man can dispense with the disabilities of holy Orders," though they be but "accidental," save only "such as have authority to confer them;" so, "either her Majesty challenged to herself injuriously" a dispensative power "which no law of God or man would afford her," or otherwise, she "was the chief collater of [their] Orders[p]."

[S. N.'s argument inconclusive.]

First, admitting this allegation to be true, upon S. N.'s own credit, yet it follows not, because the Queen dispensed, that therefore there were real imperfections in their consecrations. "*Abundans cautela non nocet.*" Many persons, in uncertain times, do take out pardons, or dispensations, where there is no real defect, "*ad redimendam vexationem*"—to 1004
prevent future trouble. Secondly, there is a great difference between an "imperfection" and an invalidity. The former supposeth an incomplete being, the latter argues a mere nullity. So likewise there are accidental "disabilities" as well as essential; as bigamy, bastardy, or any notable deformity of the body. There are legal "disabilities," or canonical "disabilities;" which do not destroy the essence, but only hinder the exercise, of holy Orders. Thirdly, S. N. fails in his main ground also. Many persons may, and do ordinarily, dispense with the imperfections of holy Orders, which have no authority to confer holy Orders. Dispensation is an act of jurisdiction, not of order; whereof lay-persons are capable. But his fourth defect is yet greater. Neither they who have power to confer holy Orders, nor any person or society of men or Angels, neither prince, nor Pope, nor Parliament, nor Council, have power to dispense with the essentials of Christ's institution; or to give a "*non obstante*" to

[p] [Guide of Faith, § 16. pp. 191, 192.]

His prescription. As in the case of that Jew who was baptized with sand in the desert[q];—the question is not, whether his desire of Baptism might be accepted by God for Baptism, but whether any dispensation under heaven could make this a valid Sacrament. Assuredly it could not. That which is from the beginning invalid by Divine law, cannot be made valid by the dispensation of any creature in heaven or earth.

[True grounds of these dispensations.]

But to come home to the justification of these royal dispensations. It belongs originally to the same power, to dispense with a law, and to abrogate a law. A law is then abrogated, when the obligation thereof is universally taken away, by the authority of the law-giver, or by contrary custom, which implies a consent. A law is then dispensed with to any one, when, the law remaining in full force as to the community, he is exempted from the obligation, or pardoned the transgression thereof, by the immediate grace of the law-giver, or by power derived from him. From whence it appears evidently, that no man hath originally a dispensative power, but he or they who have also a legislative power. And therefore, as none but Christ Himself can abrogate His own institution, so none but Christ Himself can dispense with His own institution. It is confessed, that circumstantials and accidentals may be changed; as the time of the day for the celebration of the Eucharist; [that] is, upon good grounds: but it is likewise confessed, that these are no essential parts of the institution. Moreover, they who have power to make laws or canons, or to receive and authorize them being made (as it is in England, where the kingdom challengeth a receptive or negative power,—not to be ruled by any laws but such as themselves have consented unto,—and where ecclesiastical canons do bind only so far as they are received by law or lawful custom), they have also power to abrogate these laws, or to dispense with them respectively to their subjects. He who hath power to bind, hath also power to loose. He who hath power, with the advice of his Bishops, to make laws or canons for the ordering and regulating ecclesiastical affairs (as all the kings of England, Britons, Saxons, Normans, successively have had[r]), he hath

[q] [See above p. 175. note k.]

[r] [See the Just Vindic., c. iv. (vol. i. pp. 137-152), Disc. ii. Pt. i.; and the corresponding chapters in the Replic.

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also power to dispense with the obligation which is induced by those laws. This is the true ground of dispensations royal. So, when the prince dispenseth with "imperfections or disabilities," it is to be understood of such legal imperfections and disabilities, as have relation to the law of the land; and in no wise of such as are repugnant to the institution of Christ[s]. As, when the king pardons a thief, or a manslayer, he makes him thereby legally just in the eye of the law, and dispenseth with all legal imperfections and disabilities; but his pardon extends not to the sin against God, nor to the guilt contracted thereby. Wherefore Mr. Mason's answer,—that the Queen dispensed with the trespasses against her own laws[t],—is no "daubing[u]," but a certain truth.

S. N. urgeth, that "the Queen in her first Parliament had repealed the laws of Queen Mary, which disannulled that new" Form of Ordination, and had not as then "enacted any new laws of her own, violable" or dispensable "in that kind[x]."

What will he conclude from hence? Perhaps Queen Mary's laws were not repealed so fully as they ought for want of some expression. Perhaps King Edward's Form was not sufficiently re-established, or not so clearly [as] to free it from all scruples[y]. Perhaps it was not so punctually penned as it might have been, to meet with all difficulties. In all these cases there was ground enough for a dispensation. But that which is without all peradventure, is, that besides those repealed laws of Queen Mary, there were the statute laws of all 1005
her predecessors, there was the common law or custom of the realm: all these were her Majesty's laws, as much as those which were enacted by herself; and her dispensative power did extend to these, as well as to her own. He that doubts of a truth so evident, ought to have the penal laws duly executed upon him until he recant his error.

Mr. Mason gives another answer also,—that the Queen

to the Bp. of Chalced. and Schism Guarded (vol. ii.), Discourses iii. and iv. Pt. i.]

[s] [See the Consecr. and Success. of Protestant Bishops Vindicated, c. v. (vol. iii. pp. 77-83, and notes); Disc. v. Pt. i.]

[t] [Mason, Vindic. of Engl. Orders, bk. iii. c. v. p. 133. ed. 1613; quoted by S. N.]

[u] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 16. p. 191.]

[x] [Ibid.]

[y] [See the Consecr. and Success. of Prot. Bps. Vindicated, c. v. (vol. iii. pp. 80-82), Disc. v. Pt. i.]

"dispensed not in essential points of ordination but in accidentals, not in substance but in circumstances[z]." This S. N. calls "dallying:" because "the words of the letters patent" are, "In all causes and doubts of any imperfection or disability that can or may be objected in any wise against the same;" and also because "the statute of 8 Elizabeth," and the "learned lawyers of the realm," do witness, that "the doubts were not about accidental ceremonies," but "about the very substance or validity of their ordination[a]."

Whether Mr. Mason's answer be a "dallying," or rather S. N.'s reply a trifling, let the unpartial reader judge. The letters patent say, "Of all imperfections or disabilities." True: but it is ever intended of all legal imperfections and disabilities, induced by the law of the land; or of all dispensable disabilities: but, as I have formerly shewed, essential disabilities do admit no dispensation. In like manner, neither "the statute of 8 Elizabeth," nor the "lawyers[b]" whom he mentions, do either intend, or so much as intimate, any essential invalidity in respect of Christ's institution, but only a legal invalidity, in relation to the English laws. What have the common lawyers to do with the essentials of Christ's institution? This is "beyond their last," and without the sphere of their learning. The common law is their profession, and the rule whereby they govern themselves.

But S. N. hangs on still at the end of this argument.— The Protestants "say, that the wisdom of their Church had discreetly pared away all . . superstitious ceremonies in Ordination;" therefore there needed no dispensation for these; and "it is not to be thought, that the Queen would dispense with those which the wisdom of their Church retaineth as good and lawful[c]."

I answer,— those superstitious ceremonies were more properly excesses than defects, rather over than short; but yet, where "the half is more than the whole[d]," as it is in all virtues, even excesses do become defects. But these imperfections with which her Majesty doth dispense, were legal

[z] [Mason, Vindic. of Engl. Orders, bk. iii. c. 5. p. 132. ed. 1613; quoted by S. N.]

[a] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 16. p. 191.]

[b] [Viz. those mentioned below in sect. vii. pp. 242-244.]

[c] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 16. p. 192.]

[d] [Hesiod., Op. et Dies, 40; "Πλέον ἥμισυ παντός."]

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defects of another nature, either for want of clear establishment or authorization in law, or a due prosecution of the law established. So he shoots his bolts both from the question and from the right scope of the dispensation. "It is not to be thought," saith he, "that her Majesty would dispense with those ceremonies or circumstances which" the Protestant Church "retained." True, not with the due use of them. But what if some of them were omitted? what if the Form of Ordination was not duly prosecuted in all accidentals? He hath need to sue out a dispensation for this argument, if it would corroborate it.

[S. N.'s] Seventh Argument [against our Orders; —from the alleged opinions of our lawyers against their validity.]

7. His seventh argument follows, in the 17th and 18th sections, drawn from the opinions of our lawyers in the point.—"It appears by an article of Queen Mary's, made with the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and recited by Mr. Foxe," that the Protestants "were 'not ordered in very deed.'"—(If it be only an article, what need the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal? If it be an Act of Parliament, what need the testimony of Mr. Foxe?) —Also, "Doctor Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester," degraded Ridley of his Priesthood, which he had received after the Roman Form, but not of his Episcopacy, which he had received after the Protestants' Form; because he "did not take him to be a Bishop" in deed. Moreover, "the opinion of the judges" in Queen Mary's days was, that Edward the Sixth's "Bishops were not" duly "consecrated, and therefore were no Bishops;" and "for that cause their leases did not bind their successors (Brook's Novel Cases, placit. 463)[e]." And to corroborate these partial allegations, he produceth an impertinent trial without head or foot, between Doctor Horne Bishop of Winchester, and Bishop Bonner, whether Doctor Horne was Bishop at the time when he tendered an oath to Bonner. And "the trial was such, as Bonner was discharged, and never after questioned: but it was presently after ordained in Parliament, that all acts heretofore done by any

[e] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 17. p. 192. For Queen Mary's "Article," see above in the Consecr. and Success. of Protestant Bishops Vindicated, vol. iii. p. 114. note g. § 2. Disc. v. Pt. i.; for Dr. Brooks, ibid. p. 115. note g; and for Brook, ibid., c. iv.; ib. pp. 56. note g, 58. note d.]

person about the consecration, confirmation, or investing, of any person elected to the dignity of an Archbishop or Bishop by [virtue[f]] of the Queen's Letters Patent or Commissions since the beginning of her reign, should be adjudged good[g]; which laws had been superfluous and unbeseeming the dignity of that place, if the said Bishops had been sufficiently made before. Especially seeing it is provided also in the said Parliament, that all tenders and refusals of the said
1006 oath," made "before the last day of that present session," should be adjudged "void." If their former ordination had been good, "it had belonged to that High Court to have maintained them[h]."

What a deal of useless rubbish is here heaped together! But S. N. could not be silent, and he held it much easier to shoot at rovers than to level at the mark. First, for Queen Mary's "Article." Suppose it to have been an Act of Parliament, it might make their ordination illegal, or restrain their exercise of holy Orders, until it was repealed, and no longer; but it could never annul or invalidate them. Secondly, Bishop Brooks and Queen Mary's judges, a Popish Bishop and Popish judges, are no competent witnesses to give evidence concerning the Orders of Protestants. They who made no scruple to shed their blood, and sacrifice their bodies in the fire, would not be more tender of their Orders than of their persons. If one of us should urge my Lord Coke's Reports, or a late statute of the Parliament, or some sentence in the High Commission, or a determination in either of our Universities, against them, in a point of controversy agitated between us, for an authentic proof, how would S. N. make himself merry with it! Yet we might do the one, as well as he doth the other. It may be, Bishop Ridley was silent, when he knew his speech would neither avail him nor his cause; but if he had had your Bishop of Gloucester at a free disputation in the schools, he would have taught him another lesson. The truth is, the poor judges are wronged: for they neither meddled with any controversy in religion,

[f] [Misprinted "writ" in the folio edition.]

[g] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 17. p. 193.]

[h] [Ibid., § 18. pp. 193, 194. For an account of the trial between Bonner and Horne, see above in vol. iii. p. 79. note p; and Fuller, Ch. Hist., bk. ix. c. 4. § 1-8.]

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nor had either intention or skill to determine any thing about the essentials of Ordination; they meddled only with law cases, and kept themselves within the bounds of their own profession. It were to be wished, S. N. would keep himself half as well to the question: then he would not thus waste his time, nor weary his reader, with processes in law to prove theological problems. It seems, he conceives not only the judges of the common law, but twelve honest jurors of Surrey, to be competent judges of Christ's institution; when all Englishmen know, that jurors are only judges of matter of fact, not of the law of the land, much less of the law of God. But it is his hap to fail in this also: for he neither specifies what their verdict was, whether for the plaintiff, or for the defendant, or special; nor upon what grounds it was, whether upon the principal issue, or upon some by-matter; nor yet whether there was a verdict given. Once, this is certain, that it did no way concern this question, nor the essentials of Ordination. Admit the former tenders of the oath were made void; perhaps a shorter and a surer way was provided in Parliament. Admit former acts concerning consecrations were made good: that was only in the eye of the law of England, not of God; to clear some inferior doubts, not to dispense with the original institution. Are human laws presently superfluous, so often as they do not irritate or abrogate Divine laws? It well became "that High Court" to be their own expositors, to explicate what was doubtful, to supply what was defective. But it neither beseemed them, nor was it in their power, to confirm those Orders which were essentially invalid. This had been to rebel against the Supreme Lawgiver. If these be S. N.'s clear "proofs," his "forcible" and "convincing arguments[1]," he had need to meet with very easy and implicit readers.

[S. N.'s] Eighth Argument [against our Orders; —from the fiction of the Nag's Head Consecration.]

8. His eighth argument is taken merely from matter of fact.—"If Protestant superintendents had undoubted ordination, . . why did their ministers . . seek to Anthony Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff," who "pretended himself to be blind," and to "the Irish Bishop in the Tower," for consecration? and upon their "refusal to lay hands upon them," why did

[1] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 18. pp. 193, 194.]

they "ordain one another at the Nag's Head in Cheapside; in such ridiculous manner, as they are now ashamed of it[j]?"

Nay, rather, why did this author take that for a certain confessed ground, which all Protestants do both deny and detest as an impudent fiction? The first deviser whereof was a man of "a leaden heart and a brazen forehead[k]," better acquainted it seems in the "kitchen" than in the schools. This story was not acted at the sign of the Nag's Head in Cheapside; but this fable was forged at the sign of the Whetstone in Pope's Alley. Who would affirm such a brainless calumny upon his bare word, without so much as a drawer or a vintner's boy to avouch it? The Welsh and Irish Bishops are brought in, only to serve the scene, to give a little relish to this incredible relation, and not altogether to disgust the palate of the reader; otherwise, the Bishop of Llandaff, or the meanest Bishop in Ireland, have as much (67) power to ordain, as the great Bishop of Rome. If there had been any such canonical passage as this, acted at the Nag's Head, by some madmen, not ministers, what doth this concern us? But to dispel umbrages ("a deceitful man is conversant in generalities"):—let him name the persons; and if they were ministers of the Church of England, we will shew him the day, the place, the persons, when, and where, and by whom, and before what public notary or sworn officer, they were ordained; and this, not by uncertain rumours, but by the acts and instruments themselves. Let the reader choose, whether he will give credit to a sworn officer, or to a professed adversary; to eye-witnesses, or to malicious reporters upon hearsay; to that which is done publicly in the face of the Church, or to that which is said to have been acted privately in the back room or corner of a tavern[l]. The author saith, "the Protestants are now ashamed of it." If they be, they have the more modesty, to blush at an aspersion which is so palpably unjust; and S. N. hath the less, who is not ashamed to expose such counterfeit and adulterous ware to the view of the Christian world. "*Periisse puto,*

[j] [Guide of Faith, c. xx.] § 19. [p. 194.]

[k] ["Cui os ferreum, cor plumbeum esset." Licin. Crassus, ap. Sueton. in Neron. c. ii. p. 524. ed. Græv.]

[l] [See, for this subject, the Consecrat. and Success. of Protest. Bps. Vindicated, in vol. iii.; Disc. v. Pt. i.]

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cui pudor periit[m]." But let me do his fellows that right, that since Sanders or Harding, there is scarce one of them, who hath made use of this prodigious fable in his polemic writings, which I have seen[n].

[S.N.'s] Ninth Objection [to our Orders;—from the testimony of our own writers.]

9. The ninth argument is taken from the testimony of our own writers: who do both affirm, that the Roman orders are no true orders, and that they have no ordinary calling; and do also deny, that the calling of the Protestant ministers did proceed from the Roman Catholic clergy, who were their predecessors. For proof of the former part, he cites Dr. Fulke, saying, "that we esteem" their "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, no better than laymen," and that we do not "receive" their "ordaining to be lawful;"—and Dr. Whitaker,—that the Roman Catholic Bishops are "not lawful Bishops, either by Divine, ecclesiastical, or civil law;"—and Dr. Sutcliffe,—that "the Roman Church is not the true Church, having no Bishops and Priests at all, but only in name;"—and Dr. Sparke,—that the Roman "Bishops and Priests have no ordinary calling, but wholly unlawful." And S. N. adds "a nut," which this last doctor proposeth to the Church of Rome to crack,—that "during the time of the Papal schisms" many were ordained by false Popes, who "had no right" to give Orders, which cannot now be distinguished "from such as fetch their pedigree from right Popes[o]." This "nut" S. N. retorts upon us, because we derive our ordination from them[p].

I do not know Dr. Sparke, but if this "nut" be proposed so by him as it is presented to us by this author, it is empty, not worth the cracking. It is not the benefice but the office, not the Papacy but Episcopacy, which gives a right to ordain; and the ordination of an Antipope was altogether as valid

[m] ["Nam ego illum periisse puto, cui pudor quidem periit." Plaut., Bacch., III. iii. 81.]

[n] [Bramhall had evidently not looked into the subject when he penned this sentence: the truth being, that neither Sanders nor Harding ever mention or even allude to the Nag's Head fable (as indeed they could never have heard of it, its first inventor being one Holywood in 1605, several years subsequent to the death of both), while every Anglo-Romanist writer on the subject from 1605 to 1625 does mention it and at length. See above in vol. iii. p. 39. note f. The present tract was written before 1654 (see above p. 199. note b), in which year the fable was again revived after lying dormant for some 30 years.]

[o] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 19. pp. 194, 195.]

[p] [Ibid., § 20. p. 195.]

as that of a true Pope. Thus the Protestants do readily extricate themselves; but it sticks a little closer to the Romanists, who make the Pope to be the root and fountain of holy Orders, upon whom they do depend, and [from] whom they are virtually derived. But those who are derived from an Antipope, are not derived from the true successor of St. Peter.

But to his main argument.—

[i. The pleas of particular doctors, and in behalf of foreign Churches, no argument against the Church of England.]

i. First, it is necessary to consider, whose advocates these four doctors were, and for whom they pleaded after this manner. That may be truly spoken by a person in one capacity, which is false in another: as, when the Priest in the Eucharist saith, "This is My Body," it is false, if he speak of himself, but true, if he speak in the person of Christ. They could not plead thus for the Church of England, which all men know to have, and maintain, an ordinary vocation, and to claim no other. But they plead thus for some foreign Churches of Protestants, who pretend to an extraordinary calling; and either out of necessity, as some, or out of election, as others, do want a personal succession of Bishops to impose hands. We wish it were otherwise: but if they be to be blamed, yet the Romanists of all others are not meet to reprehend them; who shewed them the way, by teaching in their schools that a simple presbyter by delegation from the Pope may make presbyters[q]. 'If the Bishop,' say they, 'be the essential minister of Ordination, how can the Pope dispense with it? if he be not, then the Pope's dispensation is not necessary.' In the meantime, let the doctor remember, that it is the Church of England which he undertakes in his title page; and that neither the defects of other Churches[r], nor the pleas of particular doctors in their favour, ought to prejudice us, who maintain a personal and uninterrupted succession from the Apostles.

[ii. The weak pleas of voluntary advocates no

1008 ii. Secondly, supposing, but not granting, that those doctors made this plea for the Church of England; though it be a frequent, yet it is no fair way of reasoning, from the dif-

[q] [So Th. Aquin., Summ., P. III. c. lxxxii. art. 11. Ad primum: and see an ample list of authorities to the same purpose, in Morinus, Comment. de Ordin., P. III. Exerc. iv. c. 3. § 3-13. pp. 62-64.]

[r] [Compare the Replic. to the Bp. of Chalced., Answ. to Pref. sect. 3. (vol. ii. p. 42), c. i. sect. 2. (ibid. pp. 69-71); Disc. iii. Pt. i.]

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disproof of a just position.]

ferent opinions and arguments and answers of writers of one and the same communion to impugn that conclusion, which both parties do maintain. As thus;—If the Sacraments do confer grace, it is either physically, or morally; but some say, not physically, others say, not morally; therefore they do not confer grace at all. Or thus;—If Christ instituted Baptism, it was either at His baptization in Jordan, or after His Resurrection, when He said, "Go teach all nations, baptizing them;" but some say, it was not in Jordan; others say, it was not after the Resurrection; therefore it was not at all. Or thus;—If Christ made the Apostles Priests, it was either at His last Supper, or when He breathed upon them, saying, "Receive the Holy Ghost;" but some doctors deny the one, others deny the other. Or,—If Christ's body be present in the Sacrament, it is either produced, or adduced; but some of the greatest clerks in the Roman Church say, it is not produced; others (as good as they) say, it is not adduced. If the Chair of St. Peter be annexed to the See of Rome, it is either by the ordination of Christ, or by the constitution of the Church; but some say, not by Christ's ordination; others say, not by the [Church's[s]] constitution. There is scarce that question controverted between them and us, wherein a man might not trifle with such arguments. Just thus S. N. argues here:—if the Protestant ministers have a calling, either it is ordinary or extraordinary; but the Church of England saith, it is not extraordinary; and some doctors say, it is not ordinary; therefore they have no calling:—whereas both parties do maintain, that they have a true calling. The weak plea of a voluntary advocate doth not annul or extinguish the just right of a true owner, who hath both a good title, and undeniable evidence. "If the foot or ear shall say, I am not of the body, is it therefore not of the body?"

[Matt. xxviii. 19.]

[John xx. 22.]

1 Cor. xii. 15.

[iii. Romish orders might be said to be lost, because they were corrupted or abused.]

iii. Thirdly, a power or faculty, which is beneficial in its own nature, may be so abused by accident, that it becomes not only unprofitable to that good end for which it was ordained, but also pernicious; insomuch as it were much better, that he who hath it, wanted it: and by this abuse, he forfeits justly the denomination which it gave him, by his own default. Holy Orders are an excellent grace conferred by God

[s] [Misprinted "Councils," in the folio edition.]

for the conversion of men; but if those who have them, instead of preaching truth, shall teach errors and heresies to His people, they are no longer true pastors, but wolves who destroy the flock. As a man, by extinguishing reason, by defacing the remainders of God's Image, and habituating himself to brutish conditions, may deservedly forfeit the name of a man, and purchase to himself the title of a beast; or as Marcellus said to his soldiers, that he saw many faces of Romans, but few true Romans indeed[t]. "He is not a Jew," saith the Apostle, "who is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew, who is one inwardly; and true circumcision is that of the heart in the spirit." So these doctors, conceiving that the Romish Priests had, by corrupting the doctrine of saving truth, in a manner frustrated, at least much hindered, the end of holy Orders, do therefore, as I conceive, deny them the title, not '*in sensu diviso*,' as if they wanted the essentials of holy Orders, but '*in sensu composito*,' in respect of those superstitious errors and inventions of their own, which they had mixed with the truth.

Rom. ii. [28, 29.]

iv. Fourthly, I have shewed before the difference between the habitual power of Orders, which is conferred by Ordination, and that actual power, which springs from the application of the matter; between a valid, and a lawful, power, which is not contradicted by the law of the land. The Romish Priests may have holy Orders actually, where they have charges of their own; and legally, where they are not restrained by law from executing their functions: but not relatively to the subjects of England.

[iv. Or to be lost in England, relatively to English subjects.]

Now then to take a particular view of their testimonies.

Dr. Fulke saith,—"We esteem" the Romish "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, no better than laymen[u]:"—that is, in regard of their not using, or abusing, of their functions, or in reference to the exercise thereof in England. He saith further,—"We receive not their ordering to be lawful[x]." True, so say we all; but there is a great difference between a valid and a "lawful" ordination. If the essentials be ob-

[Dr. Fulke.]

[t] [Plut., in Vitâ Marcelli, tom. ii. p. 275. ed. Bryant.]

[u] [Aunswere of a True Christian to a Counterfeit Catholike, art. 13. p. 50. (8vo. Lond. 1577); cited by S. N. See the Consecr. and Succession, &c., c. ix.; vol. iii. p. 135. note t; Disc. v. Pt. i.]

[x] [Fulke, ibid.]

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served, it is valid: but to make it lawful, it must not only be approved by the laws of the land, but free from all superstitious excesses and corruptions that are crept into it; such 1009 as their new matter and form in the Ordination of Priests.

[Dr. Whitaker.] Dr. Whitaker saith, that "their Bishops are not lawful, either by Divine, civil, or ecclesiastical law[y]." The former answer satisfieth this also. To make an act lawful, all the points and circumstances of law must concur, no new essentials must be obtruded. Suppose a child, or an idiot, or a person notably deformed, should have hands imposed upon him, according to the Romish grounds he is validly ordained; yet he is not a lawful Priest, nor can make use of his function lawfully, or without sin.

[Dr. Sutcliffe.] Dr. Sutcliffe saith, "The Church of Rome is not the true Church[z]." So say we all: that is, not the universal Church, but a true particular Church; true metaphysically, that is, retaining yet the essence of a Church; but not morally true, that is, orthodox, and free from errors[a]. He saith,—They "have no Bishops, and Priests, but only in name[b]:"—that is, as Marcellus said to his soldiers, that they were no true Romans[c]; or as the emperor said, that St. Ambrose alone was worthy the name of a Bishop[d]: that is, they discharge not the duties of their calling, but abuse them, having reduced the whole Priestly function to a new propitiatory Sacrifice, and the hearing of clanculary confessions.

[Dr. Sparke.] Dr. Sparke saith,—The Roman "Bishops and Priests have no ordinary calling, but wholly unlawful[e]." He who saith they "have no calling but unlawful," acknowledgeth that they have a calling, though unlawful, and corrupted with superstitious inventions.

[y] [Whitaker, Controv. II. Qu. v. c. 6 (Op. tom. i. p. 511. col. b), quoted by S. N.]

[z] [Sutcliffe, Answer to Exceptions, p. 87 (as quoted by S. N.; but no work of his with that title is to be found.) He asserts elsewhere, that "we are not to looke for the true Church among the Papists," because they "want both Priests and Bishops:" scil. in his Abridgement or Survey of Popery as opposed unto Matthew Kellison's Survey of the New Religion, c. xli. p. 253. 4to. Lond. 1606.]

[a] [See above in the Replic. to the Bp. of Chalced., Answ. to Pref., sect. 1. (vol. ii. pp. 38, 39), c. i. sect. 1. (ibid. pp. 55-57); Disc. iii. Pt. i.:—and in the Vindic. of Episcop. against Baxter, c. iii. (vol. iii. pp. 518, 519), Disc. iii. Pt. ii.]

[b] [Sutcliffe, as quoted by S. N. See note z.]

[c] [Plut., in Vitâ Marcelli, tom. ii. p. 275. ed. Bryant.]

[d] [Theodoret, H. E., v. 18.]

[e] [Sparke, Answere to Master John de Albines' Notable Discourse against Heresies, c. i. pp. 20, 23, 24, 26 (4to. Oxf. 1591); quoted by S. N.]

Thus the authors cited by him, say nothing but what may admit of a true construction. As for me, I have not their books in present, to weigh the places exactly. I confess there are a generation of enthusiasts among us, who take away all subordination of causes, and jump over the backs of all secondary agents; who approve of nothing, but that which is immediately from Heaven; as if themselves (poor bulrushes) were, as it is feigned of the old heroes, the natural offspring of God. These men indeed fancy an extraordinary vocation. If any of these doctors were tainted with that error, it is more than I know, or believe. But this I am sure of, that the doctrine of the most able and orthodox divines in England, and the universal practice of the Church, is otherwise. The author must not think to wrangle the Church of England out of a good title by private speculations.

[Of Dr. Whitaker's assertion that we do not derive our Orders from the Church of Rome.]

In the next place he endeavoureth to prove, out of Doctor Whitaker, that we do not derive our holy Orders from the Church of Rome, nor from our Roman Catholic predecessors[f]. And in some sense it is true: for we do not derive our ordination from them, as from the fountain[g] whence holy Orders do spring, but as the channel or conduit pipe by which they are conveyed to us. They are not the root from whence[g], but a branch through which, this sap flows to us; they are not the body of the sun[g], from which this beam proceeds, but the air, through which it passeth; not the beneficiaries or lords of the see, but the seneschals or stewards of the court; not the owners, but the cash-keepers, to dispose this treasure according to the orders of our common Master. The poor were not to thank Judas for that alms which he conferred upon them by the appointment of Christ; neither were the alms the worse, because Judas who kept the bag "was a thief," and grudged at his Master's [John xii. 6.]

[f] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 20. p. 195; from Whitaker, Controv. II. Qu. v. c. 6 (Op. tom. i. p. 509. col. b).]

[g] ["Ecclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fœcunditatis extenditur: quomodo *solis* multi *radii*, sed lumen unum; et *rami arboris multi*, sed robur unum tenaci *radice* fundatum; et cum *de fonte uno rivi plurimi* defluunt, numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copiæ largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine. Avelle radium solis a corpore, divisionem lucis unitas non capit; ab arbore frange ramum, fructus germinare non poterit; a fonte præcide rivum, præcisus arescet." Cypr., de Unit., p. 108. ed. Fell.]

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liberty. And therefore S. N. might spare all his invective flourishes. Can we not "enter into the fold of Christ but by the back door of Antichrist, nor minister His Sacraments but by the ordination of Antichrist, nor feed His sheep but by commission from Antichrist, nor confer or receive holy Orders but by the authority of Antichrist[h]?" We enter into the fold by the foredoor, which is Jesus Christ; not "by the backdoor of Antichrist." We have our commission from Heaven, not from Rome. We retain Christ's ordinance in its purity, and abandon those corruptions which they had added. What we do, is by authority of that great Legislator, Who is able to save, and to destroy. Every Bishop hath as much authority to ordain as the Pope. So far are we from believing, that the Pope is the root of all hierarchy, and that all Bishops and Presbyters derive their authority from him.

John x. 7.

Secondly, we received not our holy Orders only from them. We had holy Orders in the isle of Britain even from the days of the Apostles[i], before we had any commerce with Rome; which have continued thence ever since by an uninterrupted succession. And when the Saxons, many ages after, were converted to the Christian faith in the days of Gregory the Great, and principally by his care, we had Orders from Rome, but not dependent upon Rome, nor from Rome lapsed. Gregory abhorred that tyrannical power which his successors 1010
in after ages usurped, and affirmeth confidently, that whosoever should call himself an universal Bishop (not an only Bishop, no man was ever so vain to attempt that), "was in his pride the forerunner of Antichrist[k]."

Thirdly, when our Protestant Bishops received holy Orders from their predecessors of the communion of Rome lapsed, yet it was not *qua tales*—as they were corrupted, but simply, as they were Bishops: even as a great part of those orders which are at this day in the Church of Rome, are derived lineally from Arian predecessors.

Let us hear now what Dr. Whitaker saith:—that "our Bishops and ministers, though they be not ordained by

[h] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 22. p. 197.]

[i] [See Just Vindic., c. v. (vol. i. pp. 161, 162), Disc. ii. Pt. i.]

[k] [Greg. M., Epist., lib. v. Ep. 21; Op. tom. ii. p. 751. C.—See also lib. v. Ep. 43, and ix. Ep. 68; ibid. pp. 773. B, 984. C: and the Just Vindic., c. viii. vol. i. pp. 253, 254; Disc. ii. Pt. i.]

papistical Bishops, yet they are orderly and lawfully ordained[l]." Again he saith, that the Romanists accounted "none lawful pastors," but such as are "created according to their form and order; but we say" truly, "their ministry was corrupted, and therefore we ought not to be created Bishops by them[m]." "*Distingue tempora*"—"distinguish but the times," and the answer offers itself. The doctor speaks of those times, after the separation was formed between us and them, after their Form of Ordination was purged from its corruptions, and a new Form by law established. Then for a Bishop or Priest of the Protestant communion to have repaired to a papistical Bishop for ordination, had been an unlawful act, which he ought not to do when he might be ordained lawfully and orderly at home by a Bishop of his own communion. Yet further Doctor Whitaker saith, that the constitution for a Bishop to be created by two or three Bishops "ought to be observed" in a "flourishing Church," as "long as things remained whole and entire," but "not in a lapsed Church;" that is, as he expresseth himself, when there are no "godly Bishops, from whom ordination may be had[n]:"—and again,—"They who have authority to call, have authority to ordain, if lawful ordination cannot be obtained;" as when "the Bishops of those times could not be drawn to ordain any," but "such as in all things favoured them[o]." These two places carry their answer with them;—that the doctor pleads only in the case of invincible necessity—where ordination cannot "be had"—where it "cannot be obtained"—where "the Bishops" will "not be drawn to ordain any but such as" will engage themselves to maintain their errors. The Romanists do teach, that the Pope may dispense with a simple Presbyter to ordain[p]. Invincible necessity is a dispensation from God Himself, and doth in some cases suspend the execution of His own law; as we see in the not circumcising the [Josh. v. 5.]

[l] [Whitaker, Controv. cont. Bellarm. et Stapleton., Controv. II. Qu. v. c. 6; Op. tom. i. p. 509. col. b.—quoted by S. N., Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 20. p. 195. See the Consecr. and Success. &c., c. ix.; vol. iii. p. 134. note r; Disc. v. Pt. i.]

[m] [Whitaker, ibid. col. a: quoted by S. N., ibid.]

[n] [Whitaker, ibid.; quoted by S. N. ibid.]

[o] [Whitaker, ibid. p. 510. col. a; quoted by S. N., ibid. § 21. p. 196.]

[p] [Th. Aquin., Summ., P. III. c. lxxxii. c. 11. Ad primum. And see above, p. 247. note q.]

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Israelites' children, whilst they travelled in the desert. How much more doth it dispense with the canons of the Church. Or shall a dispensation from Rome be more effectual than a dispensation from Heaven? But God be praised, this was not the case in England; where there was not any such necessity, nor needed any such remedy. Whether it was so in some foreign parts or not, I dispute not. They must [Rom. xiv. 4.] "stand or fall before their own Master." But where S. N. addeth, that "in the end," the doctor "fleeth to an extraordinary succession[q]," if the doctor do use any such plea, it is only in the case of invincible necessity, and in behalf of some foreign Churches; of whose communion he apprehendeth himself to be, and therefore calleth them our Church[r]. But for the Church of England he neither needeth, nor doth, nor could, make any such plea; he himself having an ordinary calling, and being solemnly and lawfully, according to the institution of Christ and the pattern of the primitive ordinations, consecrated by those who derived a personal succession from the Apostles; unless some please to call that form extraordinary, which was so lately reformed.

[S. N.'s groundless triumphing.]

And though S. N. may put all in his eye which he gets by these testimonies, and see never a whit the worse, yet, according to his use, he triumphs in his interrogations:—"Where lay your registers hid," and your "forged consecrations," when Doctor Whitaker, a great "light of your Church, wrote directly against them[s]?" Or rather, if the Doctor had written against all the registers in the kingdom (as, in truth, he doth not, he could not), one might justly have demanded, where lay Doctor Whitaker hid, that he should be so great a stranger in his native country. And the best apology that could be made for him in such a case were, that he was a mere contemplative man, confined to his study in St. John's College, better acquainted with polemical writers than with records. But there needs no apology for him. S. N. needs one much more; though he less deserve it:—to prefer one negative testimony, misunderstood and

[q] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 21. p. 196.]

[r] [The context will shew, that this is a correct account of Whitaker's position and arguments. See above in vol. iii. p. 135. note s.]

[s] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 21. p. 196.]

misapplied, before so many affirmative in the point; and to
1011 accuse of forgery the registers and records of a whole national Church, presumptuously of his own head, without either witness or ground. S. N. should do well to consider, first, that our registers are not one or two, in each diocese one at least, dispersed through all the parts of the realm, without any mutual intelligence one from another. That all these should concur in a forgery, and yet maintain such a present harmony one with another, is incredible. Secondly, that the registries are public places, situated in the most conspicuous parts of a populous city, whither all persons have recourse from time to time, and view the records: certainly most unfit places for forgeries, which are works of darkness, and use to be acted in holes and corners. Thirdly, that the persons who keep them, are public notaries, sworn officers of known integrity, who may record no acts upon hearsay and vain reports, but those only whereof they were eye-witnesses themselves. Fourthly, that consecrations are not acted in private houses or chambers, but in the church, in the view of all the whole assembly, whither all persons of quality do resort upon such extraordinary occasions, where three Bishops must be present, if it be the consecration of a Bishop, and if it be only of Presbyters, the Bishop, the Archdeacon, and two or three of the gravest of the clergy. Fifthly, that the undoubted truth of these acts is corroborated, not only by the traditional suffrages of all the inhabitants, who have heard it related by their parents and predecessors, but also by many ocular witnesses, who were present themselves, and were living, when Mr. Mason did print his book. It had been too early then to expose lying legends and feigned consecrations to the public view of the world, when so many were living in every place who could upon their own knowledge have refuted the falsehood of them. Yet never was there heard any such exception against any one of them throughout the kingdom. And if S. N. had been half so solicitous of what he writes as Mr. Mason was, or had taken so much pains to have repaired to any one register, to examine the truth of the particulars, he would never have presented such a gross calumny to the eye of the world. Lastly, the instruments given to the persons consecrated under the hands and

[The evidence of our ecclesiastical registers indisputable.]

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seals of the consecraters, attested by the public notary, do leave no place for doubting or denying it. He may as well question the Acts of former Parliaments, or the canons of synods, as these authentic evidences[t]. He might as well question, whether there was such a king as Edward the Sixth. The author may do well hereafter to be more wary how he lets such drowsy dreams drop from his pen. "*Negare factum*" —to deny a record or evidence, without good proof of forgery, is held one of the most dishonest pleas in law.

[In what sense the English Church believes the Pope to be an Anti-christ, in what sense not.]

Yet, as if he had undeniably proved his intention, S. N. proceeds to shew the reason, why they (the Protestants) do "disclaim the ordination of Bishops" of the Roman Communion;—"because they account" the "Pope to be Antichrist," and "the Bishops" actually subordinate to him, "Antichristian prelates[u]." Hereupon he declaims against "the misery of English superintendents," who, "to the condemnation of all their brethren who want that calling, are fain to beg their spiritual power from such as they misdeem" to be "Antichristian Bishops[x]." These he calls "base thoughts" and this a "miserable refuge[y]." O how careful is S. N. for their brethren, even as Judas was for the poor! But stay, Sir, not over fast, for fear of breaking your shins. The Protestants would borrow a word or two with you. First, they crave leave to tell you, that your new structure is a castle in the air without ground or foundation. As they do not "beg [their[z]] spiritual power" from any creature, so they have defined nothing concerning Antichrist; howbeit some particular persons have delivered their private opinions with confidence[a]. The name of Antichrist is taken sometimes more largely, sometimes more strictly. Largely, for every one that

[John xii. 6.]

[t] [See, for all this, the Consecr. and Success., &c., in vol. iii. Disc. v. Pt. i.; especially c. v. pp. 87-93, and the 1st Table in the Appendix, ibid. pp. 216-231.]

[u] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 22. pp. 196, 197.]

[x] [Ibid., p. 197.]

[y] [Ibid.]

[z] ["This" in the folio edition, by a misprint.]

[a] [S. N. quotes for the point, Whitaker (Controv. II. Qu. iii. c. 1. Op. tom. i. pp. 467, sq.), Fulke (Comment. in 2 Thess. c. ii. sect. 9, in Apocal. c. xvii. sectt. 1, 4, c. xx. sect. 2; pp. 657, 888-890, 905. 4th edit. 1633), Sparke (Answer to M. John de Albines, c. i. p. 23), Powell (Tract. de Antichristo. passim; Lond. 8vo. 1605): and might no doubt have multiplied quotations *ad infinitum* from writers of the same stamp. For a history of the doctrine respecting Antichrist, see Mede's Works, bk. iii.; Dr. Todd's Donnellan Lectures for 1838; and Burton's Bampton Lectures, note 60: the first interpreting the passages of Rome; the last (as did Hammond), of the Gnostics; and the second, as hitherto unfulfilled.]

is an opposer of Christ; as 1 John ii. 18,—"Now there are many Antichrists." In this sense we believe the Pope to be an Antichrist: that is, an opposer of Christ's prophetical office, by presuming to add his own patches to the doctrine of this Great Prophet, as necessary parts of saving truth; an opposer of His Priestly office, by mixing the sufferings of the Saints with the Blood of Christ to make up a treasury for himself, by making new propitiatory Sacrifices, as if the Sacrifice of Christ were not all-sufficient; an opposer of the kingly office of Christ, by intruding himself, under the pretensed names of St. Peter and St. Paul, to be the head regent
912 and Judge of the whole Catholic Church, to be the Vicar General of Christ, a Vice-God upon earth, not only appropriating to himself the power of the Keys, but challenging also a plenitude of civil power, to dispose of all the kingdoms of the world. "*Nos, nos, imperia, regna, principatus,*" &c.—"We, even we, have power to give and to take away all the empires, kingdoms, and principalities of the world[b]." "*Vides, O Petre, successorem tuum, et Tu salutifer Christe Tuum cerne Vicarium*"—"O St. Peter, look upon thy successor, and Thou sweet Saviour behold Thy Vicar." See whither the pride of the "Servant of Thy Servants" is ascended. So every way he is an Antichrist.

Secondly, the name of Antichrist is sometimes used more strictly, and in a more eminent sense, for *the* Antichrist; for "that man of sin, the son of perdition," mentioned 2 Thess. ii. 3. And in the latter sense, it is disputed problematically among the Protestants, whether the Pope be that great Antichrist. Doubtless all the signs of Antichrist do agree to him; as, to "sit in the temple," or "upon the temple, of God;" to have the original of his greatness out of the ruins or decay of the Roman empire; to inhabit a city builded on seven hills; to shew himself first about the year 666. But it is confessed likewise, that these marks do all agree to the Turk. So, whether the one or the other, or perhaps a third, the Protestants determine not; but leave private authors to their own opinions[c].

["Εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καθίσαι."]

[Rev. xiii. 12, 18; xvii. 9.]

Thirdly, suppose the Pope to be an Antichrist, yet it doth not follow, that every Bishop under his jurisdiction is formally

[b] [Platin., in Vita Gregor. VII., p. 169. 1.]

[c] [Compare Schism Guarded, sect. vii. (vol. ii. p. 582), Disc. iv. Pt. i.]

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Antichristian: namely, such as do err out of invincible ignorance, and hold the truth implicitly in the preparation of their minds, being ready to receive it whensoever God should reveal it; such as repent of their secret and unknown errors: of which sort we do not doubt but there are many thousands who live in the communion of the Roman Church.

Fourthly, supposing they were all Antichristian prelates, what are the Orders which they give the worse? There may be power of Ordination, where there is not purity of doctrine. The mysteries of God do not fail by the miseries of man; neither do His ordinances cease to be holy, because the ministers are unholy. What are the Scriptures the worse, because we received them at the hands of the Jews? What did the Baptism of Simon [Magus[d]] come short of the Baptism of Simon Peter? What difference between the receiving their Orders from Popish prelates, or their Christendom from Popish Priests? Many an orthodox Bishop derives both his Orders and his Chair from Antichristian heretics.

[Rom. iii. 2.]
[Acts viii. 13.]

Lastly, for 'condemning our brethren,' we are not so apt to censure whole Churches as the Romanists are. We account it a like folly, out of a hatred of the botches or sores, to hate the body, and out of the affection to the body, to dote upon the ulcers. The greatest part of Protestants, by much and much, enjoy an ordinary succession; and those who do not, might be necessitated to it. However, it is nothing to this question, nor to the Church of England.

[S. N.'s] Tenth Objection [to our Orders;—that we have no mission or vocation.]

10. Thus we are come to his tenth and last argument, in the 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th Sections; but so perplexed and confused, so full of disorders and impertinences, that it appears evidently what a deal of trouble he had to pump out this last reason. I will reduce [his[e]] discourse into the most advantageous order that I can, or it will admit. The scope of it is this:—'Mission or vocation is necessary to the lawful exercise of the holy function of a pastor; but though the Romanists should grant to Protestants a true consecration derived from Catholic Bishops, yet

[d] [Misprinted "Judas" in the folio edition.]

[e] ["this" in the folio edition, by a misprint.]

their mission or calling to preach their Protestant, or Calvinistical, doctrine, they are never able to shew.' To make his antecedent more clear, he distinguisheth calling into two kinds; "the one immediately from God, which is [called] an extraordinary mission; . . the other mediately, by authority communicated unto them from Apostolical men, . . which is termed an ordinary vocation, . . which hath continued ever since Christ, and shall continue to the end of the world," which he that wanteth, "is an intruder," no pastor[f].

[Mission extraordinary and ordinary.]

I pass by his distinction for the present, with these two animadversions. First, that a mission may be truly called extraordinary, which is mediately from the Church or the pastors of it; if it be done after an unusual and extraordinary manner, either in respect of the ministers, or of the forms, or the rites and ceremonies used in it. And, in this sense, the vocation of some Protestant ministers in foreign parts is called extraordinary: which I omit, as not concerning the
1013 Church of England, nor the question in hand. Secondly, this mediate mission or vocation is the very same with ordination. So this assumption implies a contradiction in itself; —thus,—Though it should be granted that Protestants are truly ordained, yet they have no true ordination.

[Protestants do not deny, that mission is necessary for pastors.]

The next thing considerable in his discourse, is the proof of his antecedent,—that mission is necessary for pastors:—sect. 23, by the authority of St. Paul, Rom. x. 15.—"How shall they preach except they be sent[g]?"—and sect. 26, by the testimony of Luther,—that they who intrude themselves into the office of preachers without a lawful calling are "impostors[h];"—and sect. 28, by the confession of Calvin,—"that God commandeth the Word and doctrine to be required from the mouth of prophets and doctors;" and that Servetus, and all such [as] "foolishly hunt after revelations," are very "Mahomets," or "restorers of a new world[i]."

All this superfluous discourse might well have been spared. For the Protestants do readily assent to his antecedent—that it is not lawful to exercise the office of a pastor in the

[f] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 23. pp. 197, 198.]

[g] [Ibid., § 23. p. 197.]

[h] [Ibid., § 26. p. 200: from Luther., In Epist. ad Galatas, fol. 276. Wittemb. 1554. (among his works in Latin, Witeb. 1550-1557, tom. v.).]

[i] [Ibid., § 28. p. 202; from Calvin, In Isai. c. lix. v. 21 (Op. tom. ii. p. 380. b), and Contra Errores Serveti (Op. tom. viii. p. 565. b).]

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Church without a lawful calling—without any proofs. But that conclusion, or rather collusion, which he draws from the last testimony,—that Calvin, and Cranmer, and "the progenitors" of the English Protestants, were "so many Mahomets, who, contrary to the public truth received in the Church, challenged another" truth "revealed unto them out of the Holy Scriptures[k]"—is an unjust imputation, and (in this author's language) a "spiteful calumniation[l]." It is not the same thing, to erect a new Church, and to reform an old Church. There is a vast difference between the introduction of a new Gospel, and the reducing of things to a right state according to the Gospel received in the Church, and authorized by Christ; between those who "hunt after" new "revelations," and those who swerve not in any thing from the analogy of faith; between those who trample under foot the fundamental articles of Christian religion, and those who believe all things, which the holy Apostles, the Nicene Fathers, and holy Athanasius, thought necessary to be believed; between innovators, and those who endeavour to conform themselves in all things to the pattern of the primitive Church, who are ready to shed their bloods for the least particle of saving truth. And therefore S. N. talks to no purpose of the "reformed Gospel[m]." The Protestants never thought of reforming the Gospel: as somebody did of burning St. Paul's Epistles, not because they contained any thing which was false, but "*quædam male sonantia*"—"some things which sounded ill." Likewise in vain doth he demand, whether the Church of Protestants were extant in the world before the Reformation[n]: as if Protestancy were of the essence of the Church. As the errors of the Roman Church were accidental to it, so likewise was the protestation against those errors, and the reformation of them; which might either be present or absent "*sine interitu subjecti.*" A garden is the same before it be weeded and after. To be purged doth not give a new being to the body. The glory of Christ's Church was not extinguished by superstitious errors, but only eclipsed.

[See 2 Pet. iii. 16.]

The next thing which we are to observe, is, how he prov-

[k] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 28. p. 202.]
[l] [Ibid., § 22. p. 197.]
[m] [Ibid., § 28. p. 202.]
[n] [Ibid.]

Discourse VII.

[Whether Protestants have due mission or vocation.]

eth his assumption,—that Protestants have no vocation.—'If Protestants have a calling, it is either from princes or persons secular, or prelates ecclesiastic;' but "secular persons cannot communicate spiritual power:" moreover 'Protestant princes there were none,' and "Catholic princes would give no commission to preach Protestant doctrine:" in like manner, there were then "no Protestant Bishops or Priests in the world;" and "Catholic Bishops were so far from giving them any calling or commission to preach or administer the Sacraments after their manner," that "they excommunicated" them, and "laboured by all means to suppress their .. new-coined Gospel[o]." And sect. 27, he urgeth this argument further:—that though they had "power to preach truth, yet, when they began to preach other doctrine .. than that which was put into their mouths by their predecessors, therein they left[p] their calling and ran of themselves;" as an ambassador, "if he change the message of his prince," is not "therein truly his ambassador; especially if the prince countermand" it, and "recal" his power; but the Bishops of those times did "contradict the doctrine" of the first Protestants, and "reverse their commission:" and there is no "doubt, but they who have power to communicate, have power also to revoke and restrain the authority which they gave;" and "whosoever altereth the tenor of his commission, or persisteth after revocation, runneth unsent[q]."

I would the author had either understood himself more clearly, or expressed himself more distinctly, or been more
1014 constant to one sense. Sometimes by mission he understands that habitual authority which is communicated in Ordination; sometimes that actual power to exercise this authority, which springs from the application of the matter. Sometimes he speaks of a mission of council, which implies not any jurisdiction: and sometimes, leaving all these, desultoriously, instead of the commission, he falls upon the instructions; as if the not pursuing of them did void the commission.

I shall set down mine answer in distinct conclusions.

[o] [Guide of Faith, c. xx.] § 24. [pp. 198, 199.]

[p] ["*lost* their calling," in the orig.]

[q] [Guide of Faith. c. xx. § 27. pp. 200, 201.]

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[i. Christ the source of all authoritative mission.]

i. First, the original power of holy Orders, and all authoritative mission, is from Jesus Christ. He is "the Lord of the Harvest," Which "sends labourers into His harvest." He "giveth" to His Church "some Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, some doctors:"—not only Apostles, evangelists, and prophets, which had an extraordinary and immediate calling; but also pastors and doctors, who were called immediately by the Church. "The Church" is "the House of God." The ministers are the "stewards" of this "House." Who can appoint a "steward" but the lord? They are Christ's "ambassadors." Who can substitute an ambassador but the sovereign prince?

Matt. ix. 38. Eph. iv. 11. 1 Tim. iii. 15. 1 Cor. iv. 1. 2 Cor. v. 20.

[ii. The Church the channel, through which by succession that mission is derived from Him to us.]

ii. Secondly, though the authoritative power of mission and vocation be in Christ, yet we ought not (with the Anabaptists or other enthusiasts) to trust to fanatical and fantastical revelations, or to think that every private motion is a sufficient mission or calling. Therefore Christ hath committed a ministerial power to His Church, to ordain by imposition of hands fit persons for that holy function, whereby the grace of holy Orders is derived from Him to us by a line of perpetual succession. And what the Church doth in that kind, ought to be interpreted as the act of Christ Himself. St. Paul tells the elders of Ephesus, whose calling without doubt was both ordinary and mediate, that "the Holy Ghost had made them Bishops" (or superintendents) of "the flock" of Christ. And the same Apostle doubteth not to call them the "ambassadors" of Christ, who did bear the treasure of the Gospel "in earthen vessels." He who wanteth this ministerial mission or vocation, is an intruder; and cannot expect the blessing of God upon his labours. It was the judgment of the ancients concerning Origen, that the reason why he fell into so many gross errors, was because he thrust himself into the office of a preacher before he had a lawful calling from the Church. One reason why our Saviour would not suffer the Devil to say he knew Him, was, because he had no calling. If you ask me then, who it is that gives Episcopal grace, God or man, I answer with St. Ambrose, "*Sine dubio Deus, sed tamen per hominem dat Deus*"—"Without doubt God, but yet God gives it by man; man imposeth hands, God giveth the grace;

Acts xx. 28. ["overseers." Eng. Vers.] [2 Cor. v. 20;—iv. 7.]

[Luke iv. 34, 35; 41.]

the Priest imposeth his suppliant right hand, and God blesseth with His powerful Right Hand; the Bishop initiates the orders, God gives the dignity[s]."

iii. From these two former conclusions doth arise a third, —that the Bishop who conferreth holy Orders, hath no power to revoke the same, because he is but a ministerial, not an authoritative agent. To this conclusion the Romanists give assent; teaching, that holy orders cannot be iterated, nor the character blotted out[t]. Yet it is true, that the Bishop who ordains, may sometimes suspend or restrain the canonical exercise of holy Orders: with these two cautions;—first, it is only where the Bishop hath actual jurisdiction over the person suspended; secondly, it must be done "*clave non errante*"—"the key not erring." If the key do err, that is, if the sentence be unjust, it may perhaps bind passively; but it binds no man actively, but him who gave the sentence,—to repent.

[iii. Such mission cannot be revoked by the Bishop, who is but the ministerial agent in conferring it.]

iv. Fourthly, there are many things which ought to concur, as requisite to the actual and lawful exercise of that habitual power, which is conferred by Ordination, according to the divers and respective constitution of several places and societies; as nominations, presentations, elections, installations, collations, institutions, *Congé d' eslires*, confirmations, and legislation itself: wherein several and respective persons or societies, as well secular as ecclesiastical, do challenge a just and respective interest; as princes, Parliaments, synods, Prelates, patrons, Deans and Chapters, and in some places, at some times, the people. All these requisites the English clergy have without all controversy (except the author will adventure once more to deny all the records of the kingdom). Neither are these respective interests devised by the Protestants, but acknowledged to be just even when Popery was at the highest: witness those laws which invest the crown
1015 [with[u]] the right [of] patronage, and those which debar

[iv. Certain requisites to the actual exercise of such mission are within the sphere of secular authority.]

[s] ["Quis dat, frater, Episcopalem gratiam? Deus, an homo? Respondes sine dubio; Deus. Sed tamen per hominem dat Deus: homo imponit manus, Deus largitur gratiam: sacerdos imponit supplicem dexteram, et Deus benedicit potenti dexterâ: Episcopus initiat ordinem, et Deus tribuit dignitatem." Pseudo-Ambros.,] De Dignit. Sacerd., c. v. [Op. tom. ii. Append. p. 363. D, E. And see also the Comment. in 1 Epist. ad Cor., c. x. ver. 4; ibid. p. 151. B.]

[t] [See above p. 209.]

[u] ["in" in the folio edition, by a misprint.]

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foreigners from possessing ecclesiastical benefices in England, directly against the Pope's provisions[x]; that is still to be understood—by applying or substracting the matter. No legate *de latere* was allowed by the law of England but the Archbishop of Canterbury[y]. And if any was admitted of courtesy, he was to take his oath, to "do nothing derogatory to the king or his crown[z]." If any man do denounce the Pope's excommunication without the assent of the king, he was to forfeit all his goods[a]. It was not lawful for any man without the king's license to appeal to Rome[b]. The investiture of Bishops and churchmen was in the hands of the king[c].—To omit many other laws to the same purpose.—By which S. N. may see evidently, that when Popery did bear sway, yet the kings of England enjoyed an ecclesiastical supremacy, either to restrain or to give liberty in certain cases to the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by applying or withdrawing the matter.

[These conclusions applied to answer S.N.'s question.]

Now, to S. N.'s question, I answer, that the Protestant Bishops had their habitual power from those who did ordain them, and the liberty to exercise this power actually from several and respective persons and societies, as well secular as ecclesiastical, according to their several interests. Neither is it material, whether those who ordained them were Protestants or Papists; seeing that the ministerial order is not changed, either by introducing "hay or stubble" upon the foundation, or removing it from the foundation.

[1 Cor. iii. 12.]

Secondly, I answer, that those who ordained them, had no power to revoke their ordination; as he that baptizeth a Christian, hath no power to revoke or annul his Christendom. Nor yet had they power to restrain the exercise of their Orders in England, for want of jurisdiction; which either they never had, or it was taken away from them, not by Cranmer and Ridley, but by the law of the land, by king and Parliament and synod, by the Church and commonwealth of England.

[x] [See above in Just Vindic., c. iv. vol. i. pp. 143-150; Disc. ii. Pt. i.]

[y] [Ibid., p. 140. note m.]

[z] Placit. An. 1. Hen. VII. [See above in the Just Vindic., ibid. p. 141. note n.]

[a] Placit. 23. et 24. [Edwardi I.—See in the Just Vindic., ibid. note o.]

[b] Placit. 32. et 34. Edw. I. [Just Vindic., ibid. note p.]

[c] Matt. Paris., [in an. 1164. p. 101. —See Schism Guarded, sect. i. c. 5 (vol. ii. p. 404-109), Disc. iii. Pt. i.]

His comparison of an ambassador will advantage his cause nothing at all: because they who confer holy Orders, have no such sovereign power as the prince; being not the author of holy Orders, as the king creates ambassadors. Yea, rather, his comparison maketh against himself. An ambassador must look more to the instructions of his prince, than to the direction of subordinate ministers. The instructions of our Sovereign Prince, from whom all holy Orders do flow, are the Scriptures, the sacred oracles of God, the key of His revealed councils. He changeth the ambassage of his prince, who varies from his instructions; and not he, who ordereth all his affairs by his instructions. Lastly, an ambassador, varying from his instructions, doth not thereby invalidate his legantine power in those things wherein he pursues his instructions. Neither doth every abuse of a lawful power presently take away the power. If it did, the Romanists have more cause to look about them than the Protestants: some of whom have dared to call their instructions "*Evangelium nigrum*"—"the black Gospel," "*theologiam atramentariam*"—"inken divinity." This is more than varying from their instructions. The Lord will one day call them to an account for these blasphemies. But see how S. N. is quite digressed from his question. The question is about the essentials of holy Orders, and whether the Protestant ministers have a calling or commission to preach. He declineth the mark, and discourseth at random, whether they do pursue their instructions and exercise their function as they ought; the full debating whereof would be little for the credit of his cause.

[S. N.'s Concluding Argument, against the mission of our clergy; —that they have only private interpretation of Scripture; and there-

11. S. N. makes one flourish more, before he leaves this subject. Having urged before, that Cranmer and the rest had no commission from those who did ordain them to preach the Protestant doctrine, sect. 24. he recites Mr. Mason's answer, —that "they had commission to preach truth, which God by the Scriptures having revealed unto them, they preached it and commended it to posterity[d]." To this just answer

[d] [Mason, Vindic. of Engl. Orders, bk. i. c. 2. p. 11. ed. 1613; quoted by S. N., Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 24. p. 199.]

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fore no infallible or authoritative rule of Faith.]

he replies sect. 25;—that "the private interpretation" of Scripture, such as theirs was, "is fallible and subject to error;" that "every heretic challengeth this revelation" to himself, "and maintaineth it with as much reason as the Protestant[e]:"—and sect. 27,—that they "all pretend their mission and calling by Scripture; that the Donatists, the Circumcellians, the Arians, arrogated" to themselves "and had as good warrant for" their exposition "of Scriptnre as the Protestants[f];" that "the voice of God speaking in the Scripture, is nothing else but the very text of Scripture" (whereas "the Gospel is in the sense, not in the words[g]"); that 1016 all "industry in reading and finding out the sense of Scripture is deceivable, therefore Protestants could have" no "infallible certainty from Scripture of that truth which they delivered," which certainly "is necessary to faith;".. "yea, that though they should have lighted upon the truth in some essential article of belief, yet" this is "not that Divine truth which we are commanded to embrace, but a mere human verity," because "the motive for which Protestants believe is altogether fallible," but the Roman Catholics have an "infallible motive," that is, the proposal of the Catholic Church[h];.. therefore "the truth revealed" out of "Scripture" was no "sufficient" warrant for Cranmer and the rest to preach such Protestant articles as they now maintain[i], contrary to the approved doctrine of the Church;.. that "to avoid confusion and occasions of error, which might ensue from leaving of Scripture to the private interpretations of particular men, it pleased God to unfold the true meaning of His Word to the public pastors of His Church; to them He delivereth infallibly the inheritance of truth, of them only we must seek it; .. otherwise every fantastical spirit might devise what revelations he pleased[k]:"—and so, for a conclusion of this discourse, he commends Tertullian's[l] rule,—"to draw down from the pure Churches the line of faith, and seeds of doc-

[e] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 25. p. 199.]
[f] [Ibid., § 27. p. 201.]
[g] [Hieron., In Epist. ad Galatas, c. i.; Op. tom. iv. P. i. p. 230.]
[h] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 25. pp. 199, 200.]
[i] [Ibid., § 26. p. 200.]
[k] [Ibid., § 27. p. 201.]
[l] [Tertull., De Præscript. adv. Hæret., c. xx. (Op. p. 208. D. Paris. 1664).—"Ecclesias apud unamquamque civitatem (Apostoli) condiderunt, a quibus traducem fidei et semina doctrinæ cæteræ exinde ecclesiæ mutuatæ sunt, et quotidie mutuantur ut Ecclesiæ fiant."—partly quoted by S. N., ibid. § 29. p. 203.]

trine,"—and that of St. Cyprian[m],—"to repair to the conduit-head" of "Apostolical tradition, and from thence to direct the pipe to our times;" with whom Irenæus[n], Athanasius[o], and St. Austin[p], did concur[q].

This is the full sense of his discourse, as near as I can collect it, set down to the most advantage of his cause. He might well seem to be one of Zeno's scholars, who sometimes wanted opinions but never wanted arguments[r]; at least such as this, that is to say, impertinent, and wide from the cause. The question is of the commission, his whole discourse is of the instructions. If a prince's agent swerve unwillingly in some inferior matter from the tenor of that which he hath in charge, he doth not straightway forfeit his place. But, on the contrary, if an inferior minister of state should usurp a power to impose a charge upon a public agent contrary to law, such an injunction were void. So, if a Bishop shall require those whom he ordains, to preach that which is evidently repugnant to Holy Scriptures, they ought "to obey God rather than man;" and to say, "*Da veniam*," *Episcope*, "*tu*" *suspensionem*, "*Ille gehennam minatur*[s]." But there are no instructions so strict, which bear not a latitude more or less to the judgment

[S. N. hath wandered from the question—*who* are to preach, to the question—*what* they are to preach.]

[Acts v. 29.]

[m] [Cypr., Epist. lxxiv. Ad Pompeianum, pp. 215, 216. ed. Fell.—"Si ad Divinæ traditionis caput et originem revertamur, cessat error humanus; . . si canalis aquam ducens, qui copiose prius et largiter profluebat, subito deficiat, nonne ad fontem pergitur, ut illic defectionis ratio noscatur? . . Quod et nunc facere oportet Dei sacerdotes præcepta Divina servantes, ut si in aliquo nutaverit et vacillaverit veritas, ad originem Dominicam et evangelicam et Apostolicam traditionem revertamur, et inde surgat actus nostri ratio unde et ordo et origo surrexit."—partly quoted by S. N., ibid.]

[n] [Iren., Adv. Hær., lib. iv. c. 45. (p. 345. ed. Grabe)—"Quemadmodum audivi a quodam presbytero, qui audierat ab his qui Apostolos viderant et ab his qui didicerant."—referred to by S. N., ibid.]

[o] [Athan., Orat. i. cont. Arian., § 2. (Op. tom. i. P. i. p. 407. A);—"Οἱ δὲ παρ' ἑτέρων" (scil. than Christ) "ἔχοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ἧς νομίζουσι πίστεως, ἐκείνων εἰκότως ἔχουσι καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὡς αὐτῶν γενόμενοι κτίσεως."—partly cited (in Latin) by S. N., ibid., as from Orat. ii. cont. Arian.; that oration which is numbered as the first in the Benedictine edition, occupying the second place in earlier editions.]

[p] [August., De Bapt. cont. Donatist., lib. v. c. 26. § 37. (Op. tom. ix. p. 158. D); "Quod autem nos (Cyprianus) admonet, 'ut ad fontem revertamus,'" &c. (abridging the passage quoted above in note m), "optimum est et sine dubitatione faciendum."—In Joann. Tract. xxxvii. § 6. (Op. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 552. F, G);—"Catholica fides veniens de doctrinâ Apostolorum, plantata in nobis, per seriem successionis accepta, sana ad posteros transmittenda, inter utrosque, id est, inter utrumque errorem" (Arianorum scil. et Sabellianorum) "tenuit veritatem."—both passages in part quoted by S. N., ibid.]

[q] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 29. pp. 203, 204.]

[r] [Diog. Laert., vii. 179; of *Chrysippus*, the pupil of Zeno.]

[s] ["Da veniam, imperator; tu carcerem, Ille gehennam minatur." Aug., De Verb. Domini, Serm. lxii.; Op. tom. v. p. 362. F.]

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and discretion of the party trusted, to proceed *pro re natâ*, according to the law of nations[t]. Neither is there any Form of Ordination, either ours, or theirs, which limits the persons ordained, or authorizeth him who confers Orders to limit them, strictly and precisely to these opinions, which they must teach the people; but doth authorize them in general to preach the Gospel, and to apply that according to their best skill to the edification of their flock. This they did; and this is all which was enjoined them, this is all which could be enjoined them. If they had been enjoined otherwise, yet this is all which they ought to perform. We acknowledge the canonical obligation of a clerk to his ordinary; we confess, that much respect is due to the chief pastors of the Church: but yet not so as to make the authority of a single fallible person to be like Medusa's head, to transform reasonable men into stones.

[Particular Churches liable to degeneracy.]

No house is builded so strong but sometimes stands [in] need of reparation. No man keeps so good a diet but now and then needs the help of physic. So errors will be sprouting up in the best societies; and those Churches which have been most carefully planted, will in time require a weeding and reformation. He that will admit no Church but that which is spotless, with Acesius[u] must provide a ladder for himself to climb alone to Heaven. When the Church of Corinth was newly planted by St. Paul, what abuses were suddenly crept into it! Some denied the resurrection. They were all torn asunder with schisms and factions. Add to these the toleration of incest; profanation of the Blessed Sacrament; irreverence in their prayers; notorious abuse of the gift of tongues; contentions about trifles before infidels; insomuch as they stood in need to be visited "with a rod." Not England only, but Rome also, is a particular Church, as Corinth was; as subject to errors as they, and stands in need sometimes to be weeded as well [as] they. The upstart name of Roman-Catholic is a late device, unheard of in the primitive times and many ages after. There is only this difference between Rome and Corinth, that as those diseases

1 Cor. xv. 12.
1 Cor. i. 12.
[1] Cor. v. 1.
1 Cor. xi. 22.
1 Cor. xi. 13.
1 Cor. xiv. 26.
1 Cor. vi. 1.
1 Cor. iv. 21.

[t] [For the meaning of this expression as technically used in the time of Bramhall, see above p. 72. note i, and authorities there cited.]

[u] [Socrat., H. E., i. 10.—Sozom., H. E., i. 22.]

1017 commonly are most mortal, which are insensible, so the errors of Rome are much more dangerous, because they will not confess that they can err; and doating upon a supposed infallibility, as Ixion did upon a cloud, they neglect the means of a true recovery, and deprive themselves of a "second plank after shipwreck[v]." This proclivity to error proceeds partly from the malice of the envious one, who is continually busied in sowing tares, and partly from the desultorious nature of man, who is "*omni mobili mobilior.*" Hence it comes to pass, that the best ordinances are subject to a bending and declining. [Matt. xiii. 25.]

[The Scriptures a rule of supernatural truths.]

Therefore God, having pity on mankind, hath provided for us a rule of supernatural truths, His Holy Word: to be "a light unto" our "feet, and a lantern unto" our "paths;" which is "able to make" us "wise unto salvation;" which is "profitable" to teach, to correct, to exhort, to convince, "that the man of God may be perfected to every good work." Therefore the Scriptures are called canonical, because they are the canon or rule of our Faith. A rule is no rule, if it be imperfect. They are the "testament" of the Everliving God. It is not lawful to add any thing to the testament of a mortal man. "In vain," saith God, "ye worship Me, teaching for doctrine" (that is, for substantial necessary truths) "the precepts of men." They are "the power of God unto salvation." Therefore men "err" because they "know not the Scriptures." God sends His people "to the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to these, there is no light in them." Let it be admitted, that there be some unwritten verities, which, being known, are of necessity to be believed; yet certainly they are not absolutely necessary in themselves to salvation to be known, which the Holy Ghost hath not thought necessary to be recorded. [Ps. cxix. 105.] [2 Tim. iii. 15-17.] [2 Cor. iii. 6.-&c.] [Matt. xv. 9.-&c.] [Rom. i. 16.] [Matt. xxii. 29.] [Isa. viii. 20.]

[To whom the interpretation of the Scriptures doth belong.]

Yet every one hath not skill or power alike to apply this rule. "The Scripture is not in the words, but in the sense; not in the superficies, but in the marrow[x]." Many helps are requisite to a right interpreter: as, to know the right analogy

[v] [See above p. 158. note q.]

[x] [Hieron., In Epist. ad Galatas, c. i.; Op. tom. iv. P. i. p. 230.—"Nec putemus in verbis Scripturarum esse Evangelium sed in sensu, non in superficie sed in medullâ."]

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of faith, and to regulate all his expositions by it, which every one cannot comprehend; to compare place with place, and text with text, which every one cannot perform; to understand the coherence of the antecedents with the consequents, which all men are not capable of; to know the idiotisms of that language wherein the Scriptures were written, which few attain unto; "to draw down the line of faith and seeds of doctrine from those purer Churches of the primitive times," as Tertullian adviseth; and "from the conduit-head of Apostolical tradition to direct the pipe to our times," as St. Cyprian doth exhort and St. Austin approve: which counsel we readily embrace. And, lastly, those who by their office are consecrated to the service of God, have ordinarily a peculiar assistance of the Holy Ghost. Therefore, as we make the Scriptures the rule of faith, or (as others phrase it) the judge of controversies (that is, as the law is judge of civil differences, and no otherwise), so we do not ascribe to every one the same degree of judgment. To private men, we yield only a judgment of discretion; that is, we would not have reasonable men like David's horse and mule, "void of understanding." To the pastors of the Church we give a judgment of direction; and to the chief pastors or Bishops, a judgment of jurisdiction, more or less, according to their respective places or offices in the Christian Church; and above particular pastors, to a synod; and most eminently, to a General or Oecumenical Council, which we make the highest judge of controversies upon earth[y].

[Ps. xxxii. 9.]

[The authority of our Reformers to interpret them.]

To his objection then I answer; first, for our reformers;—that Cranmer, and those others who were prime actors in the Reformation, were not private persons, but public pastors of the Church; to whom this author saith, that "God unfoldeth the meaning of His" word; to whom "He delivereth infallibly the inheritance of truth[z]." Yet these were not our reformers, but the synods and Parliaments of our kingdom under the sovereign prince, the synods proposing, the Parliament receiving, the king authorizing.

[The manner of our Reformation.]

Secondly, for the manner of our reformation:—it was not seditious, tumultuous, nor after a fanatical or enthusiastical

[y] [See the Answ. to La Millet., vol. i. pp. 48-53; Disc. i. Pt. i.]

[z] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 27. p. 201.]

way, but done with all requisite helps, taking the primitive Church to be their pattern, and the Holy Scriptures, interpreted according to the analogy of faith, to be their rule.

[The subject of our Reformation.]

Thirdly, for the subject of their reformation:—as it was not other Churches but their own, so it was not of "articles" of "Faith[a]"—(S. N. mistakes; though the Roman Church challenge such a power, yet the Protestant Church doth not),

1018 —but it was of corruptions which were added of later times, by removing that "hay and stubble" which the Romanists had heaped upon the foundation; always observing that rule of Vincentius Lirinensis, to call nothing into question which hath been believed always, every where, and by all Christians[b]. Yea, further, these turbulent persons, who have attempted to innovate any thing in saving Faith, who upon their arising were censured and condemned by the universal Church, we reckon as nobody; nor doth their opposition hinder a full consent. Hence it is, that the Romanists do call our religion a "negative religion;" because in all the controversies between us and them we maintain the negative: that is, we go as far as we dare, or can, with warrant from the Holy Scriptures and the primitive Church, and leave them in their excesses, or those inventions, which themselves have added. But in the mean time they forget, that we maintain all those articles and truths which are contained in any of the ancient Creeds of the Church; which I hope are more than "negatives."

[1 Cor. iii. 12.]

[The extent of our Reformation.]

Lastly, for the extent of our separation.—We have not left the Catholic Church, but only the Roman Church; and that not absolutely, but in their superstructures, which they have added to the doctrine of saving truth. And even in these, with the same mind that one would leave his father's or his brother's house when it is infected, with a desire to return again, when it is free; and in the mean time, we pray for it that it may be free. We would admit the Church of Rome to be a sister, if that would content them; yea, an elder sister; and rather than fail, to be a Mother Church to the Saxons: but we may not allow them the place of a "lady and

[a] [Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 25. p. 199.]

[b] [Commonit., pp. 308, 309. ed. Baluz. Brem. 1688.]

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mistress[c]." This same thing was the ground of the divisions between the Emperors and the Popes, which set the Western world on fire. This same was the ground of that separation of the four Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, from the fifth of Rome; when they used these or the like words, "Thy greatness we know, thy covetousness we cannot satisfy, thy encroachments we can no longer endure, live by thyself[d]." His reason that he urgeth against us,—that the Arians, the Donatists, and the Circumcellians pleaded Scripture for themselves (he might have added the devil also),—is of no weight at all. Shall we refuse to eat, because some have poisoned themselves? or to travel, because some have strayed from the right way? A drunken man thinks that he is sober, but a sober man knows that he is sober. S. N. would have us like that foolish novice, who having a goodly heritage left him by his father and good evidence to shew for it, yet, because others claimed his inheritance, he threw his evidence into the fire, bidding them take it rather than he would be troubled about it. The young man is the Christian, the field true religion, the father, our heavenly Father, the evidence His sacred word. Because the heretic and the schismatic lay claim to true religion, shall we therefore neglect our inheritance, and cast away our evidence?

[Matt. iv. 6.-Luke iv. 9-11.]

But S. N. and his fellows will admit no reformation, no, not so much as in the exposition of a text of Scripture, without an infallibility—unless we know the sense of the text as certainly we know the articles of our Faith. This is a high degree of infallibility, not to err in the exposition of a text of Scripture; and, by his good leave, more than they dare ascribe to the Pope himself, whom they make to be infallible in the conclusion but not in the premisses[e]. So, by their own doctrine, the Pope himself may misapply a text without prejudice to his supposed infallibility. We believe the Holy Ghost doth lead the Catholic or Universal Church into all truths, which are simply necessary to salvation, and

[Promise of infallibility belongs to the Universal Church, not to particular Churches.]

[c] [S. Bernard., De Consider. adv. Eugen. Papam, lib. iv. c. 7; ap. Goldast., S. Rom. Imp., tom. ii. p. 88.]

[d] [Gerson, Serm. coram Reg. Francor. de Pace et Unit. Græcorum, Consid. Septima; Op. P. iv. fol. 114. o.—"Potentiam tuam recognoscimus, avaritiam tuam implere non possumus, vivite per vos." See above in the Reply to S. W.'s Refut., sect. x.; vol. ii. pp. 334, 335; Append. to Disc. iii. Pt. i.-&c.]

[e] [Bellarm., De Rom. Pontif., lib. iv. c. 2; Op. tom. i. pp. 951. B—953. B.]

[doth] preserve it from all such damnable errors as are destructive to saving faith; so that "the gates of Hell shall never prevail against it." [Matt. xvi. 18.] But we believe also, that it is the property of the Church triumphant to be without all spots and wrinkles. [Ephes. v. 27.] Particular Churches are of another nature; they have no such privilege; no, not Rome itself. They may fall and fail and apostatize from Christ, without any prejudice to the promise of Christ; as those seven Golden Candlesticks have done, in the midst of which the Son of Man did delight to walk. Rev. ii. 1. God puts not out the candle, when He removes the Candlestick; neither is the light of the Gospel extinguished, when it is transferred from one nation to another by the just judgment of God. So God hath promised, that "day and night, summer and winter" shall never fail, so long as "the earth remaineth;" [Gen. viii. 22.] but that is, successively: one's day is another's night, summer to one is winter to
1019 another. It were a high presumption or folly, for any one climate, trusting to His promise, to challenge perpetual sunshine or an everlasting day. Once, this is certain, that this supposed infallibility doth detain them in real errors. He who acknowledgeth that he may wander out of [his[e]] way, will be more studious and inquisitive after the right way. But he that believeth he cannot err, will never repent or amend what is amiss. Whilst we live in this world, we are not comprehenders, but travellers; we "see not face to face," [1 Cor. xiii. 12.] but "darkly, as in a glass."

[Articles of Faith to be distinguished from particular truths.]

And as there is a great difference between particular Churches and the Catholic or universal Church, so there is as great a difference between particular truths and articles of Faith. A great part of those errors and corruptions which we reformed, were practical; "*in agendis*"—"in things to be done," and not "*in credendis*"—"in things to be believed:" as the half-communion, private Masses, prayers in a tongue unknown, the inundation of indulgences, the invocation of Saints, the worshipping of images; some of which they do acknowledge to have been otherwise practised in the primitive Church, and do not maintain that any of them are necessary by the institution of Christ[f]. It is true, there were also

[e] ["this" in the folio edition by an obvious misprint.]

[f] [See the Answ. to La Millet. (vol. i. pp. 54-60); Disc. i. Pt. i.]

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other doctrinal errors reformed, "*in credendis;*" but yet these were of an inferior alloy, and come far short of articles of Faith. The very highest of them are but the original conclusions, [derived[g]] from articles of Faith or from texts of Holy Scripture, by probable consequence, by the light of reason, and not revealed, as articles of Faith are, by the light of Grace[h]. Therefore they cannot be so certain as articles of Faith. The premisses are ever more evident than the conclusion. "*Propter quod unumquodque est tale, illud magis est tale*[i]." When the proposition of an argument is a text of Holy Scripture, or an article of Faith, and the assumption an inference from thence, the conclusion must follow the weaker part.

[Infallibility claimed by the Romanist for the Church of Rome and denied by him to the Protestants.] [Matt. v. 14.]

But "*cui bono?*" whither tends all his discourse, but to shew, that the Protestants have no infallible proponent; but the Roman Catholics have an infallible proponent; that is, the Church of Rome: which is the authoritative interpreter of Scripture, the judge of controversies, the infallible guide, into whose sentence the last resolution of our faith ought to be made; the "city built upon the top of a mountain," to whose determinations we must submit upon pain of damnation: that if this infallible guide were not conspicuous to every man, who doth not wilfully shut his eyes, God had been wanting to His Church, and had not provided sufficient means for the salvation of mankind. Thus they cry one and all with open mouth.

I commend their discretion. If they could make this one assertion good, it would save them much labour, when they are hardly put to it in particular questions. As those flatterers of the King of Persia could not find a law for him to marry his sister, but they found out a law that he might do what he would[k], which is as good; so the Romanists think to make good all their particular errors by this one general assertion. They like the counsel well, which Alcibiades gave to Themistocles in Plutarch, when he found him busy

[g] ["Deputed" in the folio edition by an obvious misprint.]

[h] [Compare Schism Guarded, Sect. vii. (vol. ii. pp. 581, 582); and the Vindic. of Episcop. against Baxter, c. v. (vol. iii. p. 539): Discourses iv. Pt. i. and iii. Pt. ii.]

[i] [Aristot., Analyt. Poster., I. ii. 15.—"'Αει δι' ὃ ὑπάρχει ἕκαστον, ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει· οἷον δι' ὃ φιλοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον φίλον."]

[k] [Herod., iii. 31.]

about his accounts to the city;—that "he should rather study to give no account[1]." To dispute particular questions, were to give an account of their errors; but to plead an infallibility, frees them from all accounts.

The truth is, the Protestant Church is not the more fallible, but the less fallible, because it doth not presume to challenge an infallibility to itself. They have as good means of knowledge, and as great assurance of finding out the truth, as the Romanists can pretend unto; whether it be the Holy Scripture, or Apostolical tradition, or the expositions of all former ages, or a confirmed succession of lawful pastors. The truth is likewise, that the Romanists have no such certain infallible proponent as they brag of, but deck themselves with the stolen feathers of the truly Catholic or Universal Church. If it be lawful for us to expostulate so familiarly, I had almost said so saucily, with God, as they do, we might urge with more reason, that if God have placed such an infallible proponent upon earth, and hath not given sufficient intimation who it is, nor so much as insinuated Rome unto us, unless it be under the name of Babylon, then He hath not provided sufficiently for the salvation of mankind. St. Paul tells us, that when our Saviour ascended, "He gave" unto His Church, "some Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, and teachers, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the ministry, for the
1020 edifying of the Body of Christ;" but He tells us not a word of any one such universal and infallible proponent.

[His double error herein.]

[1 Peter v. 13.]

Eph. [iv.] 11, [12.]

But to lay this mystery a little more fully open, observe with me these three things.—

i. First, that the Romanists themselves are divided into six several parties about this infallible proponent, who it is, or what it is. If they have an infallible proponent, how comes it to pass, that there is such diversity of opinions about this proponent, who it is? Of the six ranks, they cannot choose but confess, that five (we say, all six) do want an infallible proponent. In the first place, this infallible proponent might do well to propose himself to be infallible; but the mischief is, that the other five parties would not submit to his judgment, because they do not believe him to

[i. The Romanists divided as to who their infallible proponent is.]

[1] [Plut., in Vitâ Alcib., tom. ii. pp. 11, 12. ed. Bryant.]

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be that infallible proponent. Some, and those the greatest party, do hold, that this infallible proponent, this 'virtual' Church of Rome, to whose determinations we must all submit, is the Pope of Rome: others say, no, it is not the Pope alone, but the Pope jointly with his conclave of Cardinals: a third party say, neither the one nor the other, but the Pope with a Council, either general or provincial: not so, say the fourth party, a particular Council is not sufficient, it must be a general Council with the Pope: the fifth party say, that the concurrence of the Pope is needless; an œcumenical Council, either with or without the Pope indifferently, is this infallible proponent; and these come the nearest the mark: the sixth attribute this infallibility to none of all these, but to the whole 'essential' Church, or the multitude of true believers[m]. What differences are there here about that, which should set us all at unity. We see small signs of any infallibility yet. The Protestants might adventure, without any great danger, to submit to the Roman Church when the Romanists themselves can agree what this Roman Church is. And, lastly, after all this strife, when all comes to all, this infallible proponent, to the common and ordinary sort of Christians, proves to be the parish-priest; his flock know no Popes, nor conclaves, nor Councils, nor Churches, but as he is pleased to inform them, be it right or wrong. S. N. almost saith as much;—"that it pleased God to unfold the true sense and meaning of His will to the public pastors and preachers of His Church; to them He infallibly delivereth the inheritance of truth, of them only we must seek it, from them alone we can have our vocation to preach[n]." They have spun a fair thread, if they make every curate or parish-priest to be an infallible proponent.

[ii. And far from infallibly certain, upon their own grounds, whether the Pope

ii. Secondly, whereas the greatest part of these six is that which holds for the Pope, I ask, how can they have an infallible certainty of his determinations, of whom they are not infallibly certain that he is Pope, or the successor of St. Peter? The common tenet of their schools is, that "it is not *de fide* that Innocent the Eleventh is Pope or St. Peter's

[m] [See Bellarm., De Concil. Auctor., lib. ii. throughout, and the authorities by him quoted.]

[n] [S. N., Guide of Faith, c. xx. § 27. p. 201.]

successor[o]." It is not impossible, that a female may creep into that see; as hath been not improbably related by many authors of John the Eighth. The Pope's own Bibliothecary, setting down the story, unwillingly enough, makes this apology for himself,—'*ne contra omnes sentire videar*'—'that he might not seem contrary to all men[p];' by which it appears, that it was generally believed in those days. It is not impossible but that the Pope might fail in his own Baptism: that is, if he who christened him, according to their grounds, had no intention to christen him; which in these atheistical times (especially in Italy, where so many Priests are, and so many Popes have been, atheists), is not so improbable. But I confess these are remote dangers or fears. There is a third that toucheth them nearer. What if the present Pope be not canonically elected? In any of these three cases,—if he be not a male, if he be not christened, if he be not canonically elected,—he is no Pope, no successor to St. Peter, cannot pretend to any infallibility, even his greatest vassals being judges. And to this last requisite, of canonical election, there is much to be said. They who pry narrowly into the affairs of the conclave, and can espy daylight through a millstone, if it have a hole in the midst of it, do say, that there hath scarcely been one canonical election in our memories without gross and palpable simony; they say, the active and potent cardinals lick their fingers well in a vacancy, as the exchequers or privy purses of Spain and France can abundantly testify.

[be truly Pope or no.]

iii. Thirdly, supposing that they did agree, that the Pope of Rome were the 'virtual' Church, and that he was this infallible proposer, suppose also that they were infallibly certain, that Innocent the Eleventh, or any other particular
1021 Pope, is the Pope and a true successor of St. Peter, let us see, in the third place, what infallibility it is, which they ascribe to him. Are they sure, that the Pope cannot err? No; they confess he may err as a private man, but not as a Pope, "*è cathedrâ*"—"from his chair;" as if the Pope were like

[iii. And far from agreed as to what the infallibility is, which they (part of them) ascribe to him.]

[o] [See authorities in Bp. Andrewes, Resp. ad M. Torti Lib., pp. 238, 239. 4to. Lond. 1609.]

[p] [Platin., in Vitâ Joh. VIII. p. 125. 2.—"Ne obstinate nimium et pertinaciter omisisse videar, quod fere omnes affirmant"—are the words of Platina.]

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Apollo's nun, who gave oracles whilst she was mewed up in her case, but was no wiser than her neighbours when she came abroad. Well, but can he not err in his determinations as a Pope? Yes, say they; he may err in the premisses, but not in the conclusion. This is something strange. But are they certain he cannot err in the conclusion? Yes, say they; he may err in the conclusion itself, if it be a matter of fact, but not if it be a matter of Faith. But can he not err in the conclusion of a matter of Faith? Yes, say they; he may err in a conclusion of a matter of Faith, if he do not define with due advice and deliberation. See what an infallibility this is. The Pope is infallible as a Pope, but not as a private man; as a Pope in the conclusion, but not in the premisses; in the conclusion, if it be matter of Faith, but not if it be matter of fact; in the conclusion of a matter of Faith, if he use a due advice and deliberation, otherwise not[q]. Some Oedipus resolve me this. And what is this "due deliberation?" Nay, stay there, that admits a further dispute. Had not the Pope better be without such an infallibility, than have it? "Take nothing and hold it fast[r]?" Thus,

> "Fidem minutis dissecant ambagibus,"
> "Ut quisque est linguâ nequior[s]."

But I leave them wandering in their mazes, and S. N. to his vapours. It shall suffice to have answered his arguments; and to conclude, that if there be any holy Orders upon earth, the Church of England hath holy Orders.

[q] [See Bellarm., De Pontif. Roman., lib. iv. c. 2. (Op. tom. i. pp. 951. B—953. B).]

[r] ["Λάβε μηδὲν καὶ κρατεῖ καλῶς."]

[s] [Prudent., Apotheos., Præfat. Secunda, vv. 21, 22.]

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ERRATA.

P. 43. note b, *for* Shulz *read* Schulz.
P. 76. — u
P. 77. — b } *for* p. 81. note o *read* p. 81. note p.

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Born at Pontefract in Yorkshire, I. iii. Not later than 1593, I. iii. a. cxiv. n. Descent of, I. xvi. Sent to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, under Mr. Hulet, I. iii. lvii. and during the Headship of Dr. Samuel Ward, III. 568. Took holy orders in 1616 or 1617, I. iv. Was ordained Priest by Tobias Matthews Archbishop of York, III. 132. Presented first to Kilburne School, near Kirklington in Yorkshire, I. cxiii. n. and, in 1617, to the Rectory of St. Martins, York, on the presentation of Thomas Tankerder, I. iv. lviii. (and Drake, Eboracum, p. 272.) Resigned it in 1618 (Drake, *ib.*). Then to the living of Elvington or Eterington in Yorkshire, by Sir C. Wandesford, I. iv. Married in 1618 a clergyman's widow of the name of Halley, I. iv. cxiv. n. Preached before a Synod of the Province of York (in 1620), I. xvii; III. 540. Thesis of, on that occasion, *ib.* Held in 1623 two public disputations with two Roman Catholic Priests, at North Allerton, I. iv. xvi. lviii. cxiv. n; III. 540. Was Chaplain to Archbishop Matthews, I. lviii. Took his degree of D.D. in 1630, I. v. xvii. Thesis of, on that occasion, out of Nilus, that the Papacy was the cause of the schisms in the Christian world, I. xvii. 97. 246. 248; II. 307. 323; III. 540. Appointed High Commissioner, I. v. Made Prebendary of York, and of Ripon, in 1633, I. iv. xvii. lviii; V. Pref. p.

Invited to Ireland by Lord Viscount Wentworth, I. v, vi. lviii, lix. And made his Chaplain, I. lviii. Resigned his Church preferment in England, I. vi. Made Archdeacon of

Meath, I. vi. cxiii. n. and Bishop of Londonderry, I. vi. lix. cxiii. n. Consecrated by Archbishop Ussher, III. 132. Received his Episcopal orders consequently (not through Rome but) through the ancient Scotch or Irish Bishops, II. 527. 530, 531. Treatment of the Irish Romanists by, during the Deputyship of Lord Strafford, II. 124, 125. Efforts of, in cooperation with Laud and Strafford, for the restoration of the Irish Church, I. v. q. vi. lix. lxxix—lxxxii. lxxxix, xc. Great services of, to the Irish Church, in the regaining to her of her temporalties, I. vi, vii. lix—lxii; II. 125. Cathedral of Derry rebuilt by, I. cxiii. n. Prevailed on the Church of Ireland in Convocation in 1634 to embrace the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, I. vii. xix, xx. xxxvi. lxii; V. 80—83. Failure of, in his attempt to establish the English canons likewise, I. vii. Account given by, of the Irish Convocation of 1634, V. 80—83. His own share in it, I. xxxvi; V. 82. Efforts of, against the Calvinistic doctrines then prevalent in the Irish Church, I. vi. xviii, xix. xxxvi. lxii. Visited England in 1637, I. viii. Informations against, in the Star Chamber, I. viii. xx. Charged with High Treason, and arrested, in 1640—41, I. viii. lxiv. lxxxviii. Letter of, upon the occasion, to Abp. Ussher, I. xxi. lxxxix. Ussher's reply, *ib.* His friendship for Bramhall, *ib.* Proceedings against, stopped by the King, I. ix. lxv. Obliged to flee into England, I. x. lxvi.

Joined the Marquis of Newcastle at York, about the middle of 1642, I. x. lxvii; III. Pref. Remained with him until the battle of Marston Moor, July 2, 1644, *ib.* Preached a funeral sermon in York Cathedral for Mr. Slingsby in January 164$\frac{2}{3}$, III. Pref. j. Penned a Declaration for the Marquis of Newcastle in answer to Fairfax, in February 164$\frac{2}{3}$, *ib.* Preached before the Marquis at York, January 164$\frac{3}{4}$, I. x. xxxiii; V. 87—110. Published his first work about this time, entitled Serpent Salve, in behalf of the royal cause, I. x. xxxi; III. Pref. After the battle of Marston Moor, fled from England to Brussels with the Marquis of Newcastle, I. x. Vehemence of the Parliament against, I. xxi, xxii. Styled by Cromwell the Irish Canterbury, I. xxii.

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[a] Called by Bramhall erroneously Bishop of London. Henry I. nominated and invested *Richard* Bishop of London, but afterwards gave way to the election of Ralph Bishop of Rochester.—*Godwin.*

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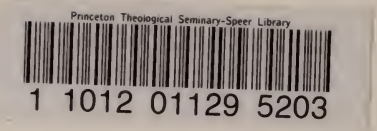
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